

Some Aspects of Scottish Authors  
in Russian Literature in the First  
Half of the Nineteenth Century.

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# N O T E .

Full details of a book or article are given when quoted for the first time. Sir Walter Scott's novels are quoted from the Border Edition without mentioning the name of the author.

If no particulars are given concerning A.S. Puškin's works, the Academy edition of 1949 in 10 volumes is referred to.

The following a b b r e v i a t i o n s are used in this work :

M. for Moscow,  
SPB for St. Petersburg,  
P for Petrograd,  
L for Leningrad.

The following t r a n s l i t e r a t i o n s y s t e m is used in this work :

а	а	Н	н
б	б	о	о
в	в	п	р
г	г	р	р
д	д	с	с
е	е (ye - if preceded by a vowel, or initially),	т	т
ж	ž	у	у
з	з	ф	ф
и	и	х	х
й	ī	ц	ц
к	к	ч	ч
л	л	ш	ш
м	м	щ	щ
		ъ	•



ы	у	э	е
ь	'	ю	yu
ѣ	е (ye - if prededed by a vowel, or initially),	я	ya
		ѳ	f.

I have departed from this sysem in the following cases :

1. the possessive of Gogol' - Gogol's,
2. the words "Tsar", "Tsarskoye".

# C O N T E N T S .

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	JAMES THOMSON AND OSSIAN IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE	14
III.	OSSIAN AND SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE INTEREST IN THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL PAST. INTEREST IN SCOTLAND	37
IV.	THE IMPACT OF SIR WALTER SCOTT ON RUSSIA	
1.	The Conception of Sir Walter Scott's Novels in Russia	44
2.	Sir Walter Scott and the Historical Novel in Russian criticism	53
3.	The Works of Sir Walter Scott in Russia	65
V.	SIR WALTER SCOTT AND A.S. PUŠKIN	
1.	Sir Walter Scott in the Opinion of A.S. Puškin	70
2.	The Character of Puškin's Assimilations from Scott	85
3.	A.S. Puškin's Poetry and Sir Walter Scott	92
4.	A.S. Puškin's Prose and Sir Walter Scott	
A.	Historical Novels ("Arap Petra Velikogo", and "Kapitanskaya dočka")	104
B.	The Works Ascribed by Puškin to Belkin	143
C.	Other Prose Works and Dramatic Works	164
VI.	SIR WALTER SCOTT AND OTHER RUSSIAN AUTHORS	
1.	I.I. Kozlov	174
2.	V.A. Žukovskij	178
3.	M.Y. Lermontov	187
4.	N.V. Gogol'	226
5.	The "Crowd" of Sir Walter Scott's Russian Imitators	240
VII.	OTHER SCOTTISH AUTHORS AND "THE EDINBURGH REVIEW" IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE	248
VIII.	CONCLUSION	262
	APPENDIX	
	Bibliography	266
	Fables.	

I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

"Those whom the action of the world has elevated and made keen do not live in isolation , but breathe a common air , catch light and heat from each other's thought" <sup>1</sup>. This "light and heat" is a common property of those who have the ability and talent to make proper use of it. It is not necessary to go as far as one German author who asserted that the whole spiritual history of mankind is a history of thefts <sup>2</sup>. Even in the modern world with its detailed legal regulation of literary property, it is impossible to speak about patents of literary methods, ideas and plots, and there is no doubt that if such patents existed they would be a great handicap to the progress of culture.

The instinct for imitation is inborn in mankind. The Romans imitated the Greeks <sup>3</sup>, the moderns imitated both. Not only geniuses but sometimes lesser writers also call forth their imitators. The development of art would be stuck in an impasse if everybody had to invent his own methods completely anew, instead of improving on some of the ways indicated by his predecessors.

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1. Walter Pater, Selected Works, London 1948 , p.49.

2. Egon Friedell, Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit, Munich 1947 , vol. I, pp.53 ff.

3. Cf. " ... Roman writers regarded a Latin adaptation from the Greek as a NEW work, whether the adaptation was of material, of form, or of both, and the first adaptor of any type of literature claimed honours more or less equivalent to those awarded its inventor". H.O.White, Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1935 , p.12.

Ideas, methods, and plots are still open to imitation and assimilation. It depends on the talent of the borrower how he uses his material, whether he has anything of his own to add to the borrowed ideas, whether he assimilates and recreates them anew or lacks all originality and simply imitates others.

A similarity in the works of various authors does not necessarily indicate an imitation, or an influence. An assimilation of certain elements from the works of another author transforms a writer's methods, plots, or ideas, while the borrower modifies them, and adapts them to his own creative aims. Some room should also be allowed for literary coincidences, since the "common air" exists also in literature.

It would be quite wrong to speak about literary theft or plagiarism in Russia in the first half of the 19th century. Not only did the Russians of that period lack any notion of "plagiarism" - indeed they had no word to express it, - but it was only in 1828 that Russia for the first time legally regulated (in a very primitive form) the question of copyright <sup>1</sup>. The idea that there was anything wrong in reproducing in print the ideas of other people without quoting the name of their author remained strange to the Russians even after the first regulation of literary property <sup>2</sup>.

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1. Cf. S.Belyackin, "Pravo avtorskoye", in : " Enciklopedičeskiĭ Slovar'" (red.Prof.Železnov, M.Kovalevskiĭ, and others), vol.33, M.1914, pp.243-244. Cf. also A.S.Puškin, Polnoye Sobraniye Sočineniĭ (Akademiya Nauk SSSR), M.-L. 1949, vol. X pp. 606-608.
  2. There exists no uniform conception of plagiary even in modern law, and it has frequently been the subject of a radical revision in the philosophy of law, as well as in Statutory Law.

Besides, the law of 1828 and its supplement of 1830 only regulated the copyright inside Russia ; works printed abroad remained free from any prohibition and could be reprinted at will. It seemed natural even to a man like Puškin that the defence of literary properties could not be extended to works published abroad, and he wrote in a letter to Baron Barant in 1836<sup>1</sup> : " La contrefaçon des livres étrangers n'est pas défendue et ne saurait l'être. Les libraires russes auront toujours beaucoup à gagner, en réimprimant les livres étrangers, dont le débit leur sera toujours assuré, même sans exportation ; au lieu que l'étranger ne saurait réimprimer des ouvrages russes faute de lecteurs." This attitude did not change until after the Crimean war, when Russia joined an international convention on copyright.

In the same letter Puškin described the conditions of literary work in Russia at the beginning of the 19th century as follows<sup>2</sup> : " Personne ne songeant à retirer d'autre fruit de ses ouvrages que des triomphes de société, les auteurs encourageaient eux-mêmes la contrefaçon et en tiraient vanité..." In fact, it was a natural courtesy to quote a friend's work and it was not considered necessary to give the source of the quotation.

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1. Puškin , vol. X , pp.607-608.

2. Puškin , vol. X , p.606.

Among educated people almost no distinction was made between "readers" and "writers" - literature was largely a domestic affair, an amusement for talented people, not a profession. Puškin was one of the first professional authors in Russia. There were indeed court poets who produced works on special national occasions ; but most poets wrote their verses in the albums of society beauties, or exchanged epistles in verse, and only a small fraction of these was later published in almanacs. Many literary circles existed to unite people interested in literature, and among the members of these groups both plots and ideas were treated as common property.

In such conditions it was considered quite natural that authors borrowed each other's plots, images, and ideas, and imitated and assimilated them. " I wanted to steal something from him", confessed Puškin in a letter to his friend Prince Vyazemskiĭ in 1823 <sup>1</sup>, referring to a minor Russian author. "In those blessed times", remarked the famous critic Belinskiĭ reviewing that period, "such assimilations were considered to be conquests" <sup>2</sup>.

The sources of such assimilations were frequently foreign authors also, since the discrepancy between the cultural ambitions of Russian higher society and the bare literary reality made the Russians turn towards Western literature.

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1. Puškin , vol. X , p.76.

2. V.G.Belinskiĭ , Sočineniya, vol. III , SPB 1900, p.415.

Anything foreign was considered of better value, and all Western ideas and fashions found fruitful soil in Russia. Such absorption of the results of foreign intellectual and literary activities became a noted feature of Russian literature of the period concerned, and was in fact a pre-condition of its further satisfactory development.

"The history of our literature", complained Belinskiĭ in 1834<sup>1</sup>, "is no more than a history of unsuccessful attempts to create our own literature by blindly imitating that of others". Though this point of view was too pessimistic to be expressed at a time when Russia already had Puškin's works, it is, with a certain reservation, correct regarding the pre-Puškin period of Russian literature.

When reviewing native literature, Russian critics usually applied the criterion of comparison with a foreign author. It was praise rather than reproach to be called "a Russian Walter Scott", or "a Russian Shakespeare"<sup>2</sup>. The hostile attitude to foreign influence developed in Russia much later, and reached its climax after the second world war.

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. I, p.73.

2. Such an attitude to imitation cannot be regarded as typical of Russia alone. "A good imitation of what is excellent is generally preferable to original mediocrity", we read in "The Edinburgh Review", vol. I, London 1833, p.245.



It is quite natural that in critical periods of their development national literatures turn for guidance to alien writings. Thus, at the beginning of the 19th century Russia turned to English and German literature, just as she turned to Scandinavian literature at the beginning of the 20th century. A faculty of universal susceptibility, and the fullest, virtually perfect, reincarnation of the genius of alien nations, was considered by Dostoyevskii to be a typically Russian quality <sup>1</sup>, and since then much has been written about Russian "imitativeness". "...our longing for Europe", Dostoyevskii said, "even despite all its enthusiasm and extremes, in its foundation, was not only legitimate and reasonable, but also popular, fully coinciding with the aspirations of the popular spirit, and ..., in the last analysis, it has unquestionably a superior aim." <sup>2</sup>

Literary cosmopolitanism, which was indeed extremely strong in Russia, had its roots not only in the Russian character but also in the peculiarities of the Russian life and historical development. Professor P.Sorokin, the well-known sociologist of Harvard University, has remarked <sup>3</sup> that it was

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1. F.Dostoyevskii, The Diary of a Writer, transl.by Boris Brasol, London 1949, vol. II , p.960.

2. Ibid , p.961.

3. P.Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, vol. I , New York 1937, p.634.

characteristic of Russia to lag behind other countries in her intellectual life, but as soon as any trend appeared there, it proceeded much faster in its tempo than elsewhere. This is true of her literature also. Thus, it happened more than once in the history of Russian literature that a trend only slightly marked in the writings of a foreign author was taken over by the Russians and developed with an unrivalled strength and speed. Such was the fate of Sir Walter Scott's writings in Russia, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Russia started to build up her literature at a time when the West had already to its credit many literary works of eternal beauty. The process which was completed by the West after a period of several centuries was undergone by Russia in only a few decades with the help of assimilations and adaptations from Western literary achievements. Towards the middle of the 19th century Russia was easily able to stand comparison with any Western European literature. At a later period a reverse process started, and Russia gave the world the works of Tolstoi, Dostoyevskiĭ and Čehov, who since then have been exercising an impact on Western literature and thought.

By the beginning of the 19th century, Russian literature had to its credit a number of works by outstanding authors in the field of poetry ( Lomonosov, Deržavin ) and drama ( Fonvizin ),

but practically no valuable works of fiction. Russian authors looked for inspiration to the oral tradition of folk-lore, to the Church Slavonic sources, or to foreign literature. At the end of the 18th century there was discovered a most remarkable Russian epic, "Slovo o polku Igoreve" ( "The Story of the Raid of Prince Igor" ), written by an unknown author, probably in the 12th century. According to Maurice Baring, the publication of the Slovo (in 1800) produced the same effect in Russia as the appearance of the Songs of Ossian made in Western Europe.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that it was the discovery of the forgery of the Songs that made the Russians suspect that the Slovo too was not genuine, and indeed, the question of its authenticity is still discussed in our time <sup>2</sup>. Though quite different in its content, nature, and form, as well as in its mood, the Slovo was at the beginning of the 19th century often compared with the Songs of Ossian. It was the only great national work from which the Russian authors of that time were able to learn, and from which the Russian public was able to develop a literary taste. "It is a pity that we possess no old literature", complained Puškin <sup>3</sup>. "Behind us is a dark steppe and in it rises one monument only '

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1. The Hon.Maurice Baring, An Outline of Russian Literature, London 1944 , p.18.

2. Cf.e.g.: A.Mazon, "Le Slovo d'Igor", in : "Revue des Études Slaves", vol.21, 1944, pp.5-45, and a spirited reply by R.Jakobson, "L'authenticité du Slovo", in : "La Geste du Prince Igor", edited by H.Grégoire, R.Jakobson and M.Szeftel ("Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves", vol.18), New York 1948, pp. 235-360.

3. Puškin , vol. VII , p. 226.

The Story of the Raid of Prince Igor".

In the opinion of Professor Sipovskii, the effect of the Slovo was such as almost to produce a literary school of its own, and it was only the superseding influence of Sir Walter Scott which put an end to this development<sup>1</sup>. Literary events in the West were followed with a great interest by all educated Russians. The sources of knowledge of foreign literature were for the most part the periodicals, which published translations and reviews of works of West European authors. This knowledge of foreign literature was in general not acquired systematically, and came to Russia mainly from and through France.

As most educated Russians knew French perfectly, often much better than Russian, and only a privileged few knew English, French literature was the first to which they turned. French periodicals were widely read and it was in the first instance through France that Russia became familiar with English and German literature<sup>2</sup>. "Works which one might call 'pricked patterns' from the works of a Western author", wrote Valerian Maikov in 1847<sup>3</sup>, "have always had a tremendous success in Russia, or, it might be better to say, that from the beginning of the second half of the 18th century

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1. V.V.Sipovskii, " Slovo o polku Igoreve i russkaya povestvovatel'naya literatura 19 veka", in : "Izvestiya po russkomu yazyku i slovesnosti (Akademiya Nauk SSSR)", vol. III , L.1930 , p. 240.
  2. One of the main sources of information concerning English literature was "Revue Britannique".
  3. Valerian Maikov, Kriticheskiye opyty 1845 - 1847, SPB 1891 , p.226.

There were always in fashion the types of literature which were dominant in France". The success of a writer in France was sufficient to make him successful in Russia, Maikov thought, and it was also a guarantee of the success of Russian imitations.

It is certainly true that Macpherson-"Ossian" and Sir Walter Scott enjoyed a tremendous popularity in France also <sup>1</sup>. However, it is doubtful whether the "French fashion" alone can be held responsible for their success in Russia. The change of literary climate and taste in Russia, her disappointment in French literature, and her admiration of English literary works sprang also from political causes : from Russia's opposition to the French revolution, her war with Napoleon, her alliances with Britain and Germany. Emile Haumant <sup>2</sup> considered the climax of French influence on Russian literature to be between the years 1785 and 1815, and its decline between the years 1815 and 1848. In the twenties the influence of English and German literature was dominant. Prince Vyazemskii wrote with great irony in 1830 that it was considered quite out of fashion to be the translator of a French poet, but it was quite permissible to translate German and English poets from the French ; and, he added sarcastically, the best thing to do was to write in the manner of another poet even without understanding his spirit <sup>3</sup>.

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1. P. van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, Paris 1917, and L. Maigron, *Le Roman historique a l'époque romantique, Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott*, Paris 1898.

2. Emile Haumant, *La culture française en Russie*, Paris 1913.

3. P. A. Vyazemskii, *Polnoye sobraniye sochinenii*, SPB 1878, vol. 2 , p. 134.

However, it is possible to indicate only roughly the preponderance of a certain literature at a definite time, since the literary influence was mostly mixed, as far as nationality was concerned.

The works of foreign authors assumed a new shape when they appeared in Russian literature. As is usually the case, only those traits which were required at the moment were adopted from them. The various forms Scott's impact took in the works of Russian authors can serve to illustrate the idea that every writer takes from another only those elements which seem to be necessary for his own creative aims. The same can be said of entire national literatures. Scots authors, forming, as they did, an important link between the pre-Romanticists and Romanticists, would naturally leave their marks on the works of Russian authors who were searching for new outlets for their literary talents. In addition, the strong national feeling of the Scottish authors<sup>1</sup> appealed to the Russians, since it found a response in their own emotions. Russia's own history and her tradition of folk-lore opened a wide field for research and literary application. But it was through the person of Sir Walter Scott that Scottish authors made their most important service to Russian literature. In the attempt to create a Russian prose literature, it was natural that all eyes should turn to the most popular author of the period, and in the

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1. Not for nothing did "The Edinburgh Review" speak of a remarkable increase of "nationality" in Scottish literature, and literary patriotism.

Cf. "The Edinburgh Review", vol. I, London 1833, p.185.

twenties of the 19th century Russia was quite hypnotized by the "Mighty Magician". In the thirties this hypnotic effect began to fade away ; Russia approached the works of Scott more critically, and only assimilated those elements which were necessary for the further development of her literature. In the late thirties and early forties the vogue of Scott was almost completely over.

Minor Russian authors imitated Scott blindly without understanding his true merits ; the better ones picked out only certain elements in his works, and it was in the writings of Puškin that Sir Walter Scott's impact was most important for Russian literature. Puškin scanned Scott's works for elements of realism, and it was some of Scott's methods, as modified by Puškin's pen, that prepared the way for the great Russian novel.

Thus, the realistic trend, discernible in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, penetrated Russia and spread rapidly, after being amplified, improved and extended in the works of Puškin. It may seem paradoxical that Scott, though not a true realist himself, was able to lay a foundation of realism in Russian literature, but such is often the fate of an author abroad. No author is understood in the same way in two different countries. It even happens that some authors (among them Macpherson's Ossian, Lord Byron, and, in modern times, Charles Morgan) enjoy more popularity and leave more traces in the works of foreign authors than they ever do at home. The reason obviously is that the continental



reader finds in their works more of what he requires at that particular moment. The same is true of some Russian authors in whom a British reader often admires features which seem unimportant to a Russian.

First, Macpherson-Ossian and J. Thomson, and then Sir Walter Scott appeared in Russia at a time of big developments in her own literature. They showed her the road, guided her literary searches, and stimulated her judgments. One feature was common to most Scottish authors, and typical of the Romantic movement - a strong conception of nationality ; and this feature was reflected also in the Russian literature of that period.

While the impact of Thomson and Ossian resulted in laying the foundation of sentimentalism and pre-romanticism in Russia, it was Sir Walter Scott who guided her first attempts to move to the next stage of her development.



II.

J A M E S   T H O M S O N   A N D   O S S I A N  
I N   R U S S I A N   L I T E R A T U R E.

The first Scottish authors to penetrate Russian literature were James Thomson and "Ossian" (in J. Macpherson's rendering). Their popularity fell mainly in the last decade of the 18th century and partly continued at the beginning of the 19th century. Only seldom can any enthusiasm for these two authors be observed in the works of later Russian writers <sup>1</sup>.

The impact both of Thomson and Ossian developed on parallel lines, and literary Russia is indebted to them for the new forms and ideas which became the foundation of pre-Romanticism in Russian literature. The description of nature, idyllic and simple in the case of Thomson, heroic and colourful, though repetitious, in the case of Ossian, were a revelation to Russian poets. The sensitive melancholy of Ossian, the sentiment of Thomson stimulated their emotions. Last but not least, the national pride of Ossian and the supposed origin of his songs in folk-lore, gave the Russians the idea that they also might possess folk-lore of great literary value.

James Thomson (1700-1748) was the first Scot to be translated into Russian <sup>2</sup>. The first partial translations from

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1. It is interesting to note that the 20th century Russian poet O. Mandel'stam returned to Ossian in some of his poems.
  2. J.H. Millar (A Literary History of Scotland, London 1903, p. 370) is of the opinion that Thomson's place is, in fact, in English literature since there is nothing characteristically Scottish in his works. There can be, however, no doubt that by birth and by education James Thomson was Scottish and therefore he deserves a place in this survey.

his "Seasons" were published in Russian periodicals in 1779, 1784, 1787 and 1793, and a full translation of this work appeared in 1798. Like most foreign authors, Thomson came to Russia through France, where he was extremely popular after a translation of his "Seasons" appeared in 1759. "L'année Littéraire" of 1787 mentions Thomson's "Seasons" among those books "qui sont aux Français aussi familiers que si la France les avait produits".<sup>1</sup>

At a period when pseudo-classical forms were prevalent in Russian literature Thomson's "Seasons" breathed into it entirely new and fresh air. The simplicity and sincerity of his descriptions of nature, his rural idyllic scenes appealed to Russian authors, especially in contrast to the pomposity of style common in the pseudo-classical works.

Such new themes opened new possibilities for the expression of emotions, and caused a sentimental delight in nature's phenomena. The main representative of the sentimental school in Russia, N. M. K a r a m z i n (1766-1826), was a great admirer of Thomson and translated his "Seasons" into Russian. Thomson's work was accessible to him in the original, since he was one of the few Russians at that time who knew English. He imitated Thomson's descriptions of nature in some of his poems and prose works, and even went so far as to declare that only through Thomson had he learned to admire nature.

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1. Quoted from P. van Tieghem, *Le Preromantisme*, vol. II, Paris 1930, p. 92.

In 1798 the translation of the "Seasons" by Dmitriyevskii appeared. In his introduction Dmitriyevskii speaks with great admiration and respect of Thomson. In the 19th century Thomson's popularity faded, though he was still read. A.S. Puškin in his poem "To my sister" <sup>1</sup> mentions Thomson as one of the authors, who carry his sister away in her dreams into the fields, where a breeze blows from the grove, and the curly-headed forest whispers and a majestic stream rushes down from the mountain tops. In this sentence Puškin in fact conveys the essence of Thomson's poetry - his romantic descriptions of nature.

These beautiful descriptions appealed to the romantic nature of V. A. Žukovskii (1783-1852) who translated Thomson's "Hymn to the Seasons" in 1807. This concluding part of the "Seasons" was thought to contain the whole essence of Romanticism, and was the subject of numerous imitations. Žukovskii's version <sup>2</sup> is a free paraphrase of Thomson's Hymn. While in the beginning of the poem Žukovskii more or less follows Thomson, only shortening some passages, modifying and changing some expressions, the end of the poem can be regarded as almost entirely original. Here and there Žukovskii shortens the original, but, on the other hand, he introduces into his poem some new independent passages.

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1. Puškin , vol. I , p.39.

2. V.Žukovskii, Sobraniye sočinenii, SPB 1869, vol. I , pp. 30-33.

He ignores Thomson's idea of "seeming evil still educing good, and better thence again, and better still, in infinite progression", and replaces it by an appeal to the secret shores, to the abode of the lost, to the "peaceful paternal shadow". Thomson's phrase about "joy" ("... and every sense, and every heart is joy...") was replaced by the "gentle fever of desires". In one of his original passages Žukovskii stresses even more the pantheistic approach to nature : every hill is for him an altar, every shadowy grove a temple where, it seems to him, the Tsar of Nature is hidden in mysterious mist. He makes the poet shed tears in pensive delight at seeing the pale vaults of the sky through the branches of the trees.

Since many passages of Thomson's work were written in blank verse it was perhaps his example that inspired Žukovskii to apply it to Russian poetry also.

Though Žukovskii knew English and might have used the original for his translations, he obviously also consulted a French translation of Thomson's works. This is apparent from his spelling of Thomson's name with a "p" ( Thompson ), as it was spelt in France.

Now and again the name of Thomson appeared in Russian periodicals of that time ; his works, however, had ceased to exercise any substantial influence on Russian literature.

It is true that there is nothing typically Scottish in the poetry of Thomson, and even his landscape is more English than Scottish.

Therefore it is not surprising that his name was seldom associated in Russia with his native land.

Quite different was the case of O s s i a n . Interest in Scotland arose in Russia for the first time as a result of this work of Macpherson's. Scotland became for the Russians a country of fantastically beautiful romantic scenery , from which mists, crags, waters, and a nocturnal, moonlit, melancholy atmosphere were inseparable. This country seemed to be inhabited by wild but brave people full of unsubdued warrior spirit. The romantic beauty of the heroic landscape, like the idyllic descriptions of Thomson, called for parallel literary treatment in Russia. It was the nature poetry of Ossian that inspired most of his Russian imitators. His sad but beautiful autumn became the season most frequently described in Russian poetry, and his gloomy nocturnal scenery touched all the readers of that sensitive period. The moon, the stars, the winds, the hills became common subjects of poems. He was the first to introduce into Russian poetry descriptions of the sea, the sea described by him in all its aspects.

As elsewhere in Europe, the interest evoked by Ossian was closely connected with the interest in the North, particularly in Scandinavia. "Are not the Scandinavian and Scottish ballads akin?" asked A. Turgenev of Žukovskii in 1814. The incorporation of Finland in 1809 naturally intensified this interest, since the northern

scenery of Finland recalled the beautiful views familiar to Russian readers from Ossian's songs.

Ossian's nature symbolism, his lyricism, his melancholy, as well as his melodious style, his "joy in grief" appealed to the Russians as something entirely new and inexperienced. The success of Ossian was unrivalled. He attracted all sorts of readers ; lovers of romance found a satisfaction in his romantic descriptions; sensitive hearts found a joy in his intense emotions ; and lovers of folk-lore enjoyed the heroic national character of the epic.

The climax of this enthusiasm fell in the late 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Ossian "the great", the unrivalled poet, was the bedside book of many outstanding Russians. The famous general Suvorov is said to have taken Ossian with him on all his campaigns. Though Ossian was still one of the most widely read authors at the beginning of the 19th century, his impact throughout the first half of this century was more evident in works of minor authors, and only insignificant traces of it can be found in the works of the great Russian poets. The reason for this lies probably in the fact that the enthusiasm for Ossian was not very deep in Russia, nor psychologically well grounded. It was nearer to being a very popular fashion. It looks as if almost every Russian author felt an obligation to pay some tribute to this fashion, at least to the extent of mentioning Ossian's name, or adapting a name from his songs. Osgar, Mal'vina became quite popular names in Russian poems, though they are quite uncommon in the Russian language.

The traces left by Ossian in the literatures of those countries in which he appeared after a period of rationalism<sup>1</sup> were more serious than those he left in Russian literature. Russia had not experienced a period of rationalism, therefore there was no basis for a reaction. The Ossianic exaggeration of feelings could carry the Russians away for a short time only, since the Russian character is too emotional by nature to require an artificial stimulus. On the other hand, the sphere of Ossianic feelings was too narrow for the wide Russian nature. Though the direct effect produced by Ossian on Russian literature was intense, it was not prolonged. Quite different, as will be seen later, were the indirect results of the enthusiasm for Ossian, the effect produced by him in almost every country where he appeared, that is the awakening of interest in a national folk-lore.

The poetry of Ossian penetrated Russian literature at first indirectly - through the translation of Goethe's "Werther" into Russian by Galčenkov (SPB 1781), where Werther's reference to Ossian can be found, as well as a fragment of Ossian's poems. One of the first translators of Macpherson's Ossian into German, J.M.R.Lenz (1751-1792) was born in Russia. He returned to Russia in or about 1779 where he frequented literary circles and popularized Ossian<sup>2</sup>. It is likely, however, that Ossian had been read in Russia before in French translations. In 1788

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1. P.van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, Paris 1917, or R.Thombo, *Ossian in Germany*, New York 1901.

2. To my knowledge this has never been mentioned in studies of Russian literature.



appears the first Russian translation of Ossian's Songs by A.I.Dmitriyev, probably from the French, and in 1792 another, better translation by E.Kostrov from the French translation by Le Tourneur <sup>1</sup>.

A great admirer of Ossian was N. M. K a r a m z i n (1766-1826) who declared that Britain was "the Mother of the greatest poets" <sup>2</sup>. Karamzin deliberately sought inspiration by reading his favourite authors in "appropriate" circumstances ; thus he liked to stimulate his own feelings by reading Ossian while on stormy seas <sup>3</sup>. The novels of N.M.Karamzin ("Bednaya Liza", "Natal'ya boyarskaya doč'", etc.) are not only written in the mood of melancholy, typical of Ossian, but there are also some parallels in the descriptive passages.

In 1791 Karamzin translated "The Songs of Selma" and dedicated his work to Džežavin, and in the same year he translated "Carthou" (from the original) for his "Moskovskij Žurnal". In 1803 there

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1. "Ossian, syn Fingalov, bard tret'yego veka : gal'skiye (inače erskiye ili irlandskiy) stihotvoreniya, Perevedeny s francuzskogo E.Kostrovym". This translation was dedicated to General Suvorov.

For the bibliography of Ossian in Russia, see : P.O.Morozov, "E.Kostrov", in : "Russkaya poeziya" (ed.Vengerov), SPB 1893/1895, vol. II , p.310, and V.I.Maslov, "Ossian v Rossii, bibliografiya", in : "Trudy Puškinskogo doma Akademi Nauk", vol. 50, L.1928.

Cf. V.I.Maslov, "K voprosu o pervykh russkikh perevodakh poem Ossiana-Makfersona", in : "Stat'yi po slavyanskoj filologii i russkoj slovesnosti, Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk SSSR", vol.101, No.3, pp.196-197.

2. "Britaniya yest' mat' poetov veličaiših...", "Poeziya" (1787).
3. V.V.Sipovskij, "N.M.Karamzin", in : "Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta SPB Universiteta", SPB 1899, p.241.

appeared in "Vestnik Yevropy", then edited by Karamzin, a fragment under the title "Vadim". Naively following Ossian, Karamzin placed an old bard on the coast of Lake Ladoga, where he sang about the misfortunes of his fatherland.

The influence of Ossian's works on another great poet of the 18th century, G. R. D e r ž a v i n (1743-1816), has been noticed by Y. Grot <sup>1</sup>. Deržavin made the acquaintance of Ossian about 1790 ; at this time anyway a knowledge of Ossian becomes evident in his writings. The admiration for "the poet of mists and seas" is visible in many of his poems. The descriptions of nature in Deržavin's works are written in the spirit of Ossian, not only Ossianic images but even names being often retained <sup>2</sup>. There are many direct parallels in the text of Deržavin's best known work "The Waterfall" ("Vodopad") and Ossian's songs. A fragment of Deržavin's uncompleted translation of Ossian's "Carriac-Thura" exists, and his own poem "A Song on the Death of Plenira" (1794) is reminiscent of it.

Since Karamzin and Deržavin were the most prominent representatives of Russian literature in the late 18th century the fact that they both were great admirers and even imitators of Ossian was of extreme significance. The example of these two men decided, in fact, the

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1. G.R.Deržavin, Sočineniya (ed.Y.Grot), SPB 1865.

2. Cf. "On Italy's victories".

literary trend which was followed by minor authors. Thousands of translations and imitations appeared, and their flow still continued in the first years of the 19th century.

The question of the authenticity of the Gaelic poems interested Russian critics and readers. The general tendency was to accept them as genuine. As in France, Ossian was often compared with Homer, and there were quite a few Russians who preferred Ossian to Homer. Uvarov<sup>1</sup> wrote to Žukovskii in 1815 that in his opinion even Greek poetry was not so near to the Russian soul as the misty fantastic images of the Northern bards. Only in later years did a critical attitude develop in Russian literary minds towards Ossian. It is his monotony for which he was first reproached. Vyazemskii speaks about the "one-coloured field" of his poems ; Puškin calls them monotonous.

The rythmical prose of "The Poems of Ossian"<sup>2</sup>, his passionate style, full of metaphors and comparisons, seemed to ask for imitations ; the short abrupt sentences were easy to versify and to adapt for plays, and Russian authors made use of this. However, very often the borrowings from Ossian consisted in nothing more than the adaptation of names and titles.

At the beginning of the 19th century (1805) a tragedy by V.A. Ž e r o v appeared under the title "Fingal", the plot of which was adapted from

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1. "Russkii Arhiv", 1871, No.2 , p.0161-62.

2. "The Poems of Ossian, Translated by James Macpherson", Edinburgh 1926.

Ossian, Ossianic title and names being used. Ozerov, however, did not reproduce the romantic spirit of Ossian's songs, and arrayed his work in pseudo-classical form. Puškin wrote later (about 1825) about this tragedy : " What is there in common between the monotony of Ossian's poems and a tragedy which borrowed from them the style only?" <sup>1</sup>

An interesting experiment was made by the Russian poet N. I. G n e d i č (1784-1833) who made a translation from Ossian, entitled "The last song of Ossian" (1806) in the metre of Russian folk-songs. The Ossianic mood and the name of Ossian appeared in a number of other poems of Gnedič, e.g. "K Batyuškovu" (1807) : "There Ossian now dreams, of battles, of past deeds, and evokes with his lyre, his mighty forefathers". <sup>2</sup>

About the same time (1805) K. N. B a t y u š k o v (1787-1855), in his address to Gnedič, spoke about the Selma forests where the shadow of Oscar, clothed in mist, spread over the foamy ocean. Batyuškov made a common mistake in confusing Scandinavian and Celtic mythology. The "misty Albion", the Germanic Odin and Walhalla, the Scandinavian skalds - they all occur in his poem "On the Ruins of a Castle in Sweden". His poems "The Dream" and "The Shadow of a Friend" were also written in Ossianic gloomy mood.

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1. Puškin , vol. VII , p.560.

2. "Tam Ossian teper' mečtayet,  
O bitvah, o delah bylyh,  
I liroĭ pesni vyzyvayet,  
Mogučih praotcev svoih".

Ossian's impact on Batyuškov was more than a mere adaptation of titles, names etc. Ossian was responsible for the appearance in his poetry of two features : the melancholic mood of grief, and a love of the wild Northern landscape.

A different effect produced by Ossian can be traced in the work by V. T. N a r e ž n y ĭ (1780-1825) "Slavenskiye večera" (1809). It was the heroic element of Ossian which appealed to this Russian author, and he tried to present the same element in his depictions of the Russian past. While Ossian sang about the deeds of Gaelic bards, Narežnyi described the great works of Russian "bogatyri" ("knights"), and the adventures of Slavonic princes. The influence of Ossian on this work was noticed by the contemporaries of Narežnyi. The magazine "Cvetnik" <sup>1</sup> called "Slavenskiye večera" a very successful imitation of Ossian. In fact, this work was not very successful, since the representation in it of the Russian heroic past was false. Zamotin justly remarked <sup>2</sup> that "Slavenskiye večera" consisted of nothing more than misty settings ("tumannye dekoracii") in the Ossianic mood, passed off as pictures of the Russian way of life. Nevertheless it is important as one of the first attempts to present in literature a picture of the Russian heroic age.

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1. "Cvetnik", 1809, July, p.247.

2. I.I.Zamotin, Romantizm 20-h godov 19-ogo stoletiya v russkoj literature, SPB 1911/13, vol. II , p.356.

Ossian probably influenced "Eda", one of the Finnish poems of E. A. B a r a t y n s k i ĭ (1800-1844). The love of a warrior and a native Finnish girl set against the background of the severe Finnish landscape, the girl's despair and her death from grief after the departure of her lover, constitute the plot of this poem - a theme common in Ossian.

The blind poet I. I. K o z l o v (1778-1840) paid his tribute to Ossian by paraphrasing an address to Ossian from Lamartine's "Jocelyn" <sup>1</sup>.

V. K. K y u h e l' b e k e r (1797-1846) sang with admiration of the ghost of Ossian clothed in mist <sup>2</sup>. He transferred Ossianic atmosphere and landscape even into his poem about Nice (1821) and spoke about the host of shades he met there in the mountains among the mists <sup>3</sup>. As late as 1835 he wrote a poem "Ossian" which he dedicated to the memory of Del'vig and Gnediĉ.

The melancholy Ossianic mood could not but appeal to the sentimental nature of V. A. Ź u k o v s k i ĭ (1783-1852), who knew English and read Ossian in the original.

Like Ossian, Źukovskii often described moonlit landscapes, meditated on life beyond the grave, and yearned over the irrevocable past. The influence of "The Poems of Ossian" on Źukovskii's use of the miraculous has been pointed out by

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1. I. I. Kozlov, Polnoye sobraniye soĉineniĭ, SPB 1902 , pp.326-327.

2. V. Kyuhel'beker, Stihotvereniya, L.1952 , p.90.

3. Ibid , p.98.

Professor Veselovskii<sup>1</sup>. Žukovskii's poem "Pesn' barda nad grobom slavyan pobeditelei" (1806) is written in Ossianic mood. The description of nature is in Ossianic style, and the mournful pensive bard<sup>2</sup> standing in the midnight darkness, sometimes illuminated by the moon, is also an Ossianic figure. Inspired by Ossian's favourite theme, Žukovskii wrote in blank verse a beautiful address to the sea ("More").

It is usually considered that Ossian's influence on Žukovskii can be observed only in his "pervasive melancholy"<sup>3</sup>, in his "yearning under the moon" etc., and that there are not many details in his poetry that were borrowed from Ossian. To my knowledge, however, it has not been noticed that the theme of Žukovskii's poem, "The Aeolian Harp"<sup>4</sup>, written in 1814, is based on a Celtic belief in the "light touch of ghosts", mentioned in Ossian. It was believed in ancient times that on the night preceding the death of an eminent person the harps of those bards who were retained by his family emitted melancholy sounds. This was attributed to "the light touch of the ghosts", who were supposed to have fore-knowledge of events<sup>5</sup>. "The Aeolian Harp" attracted the

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1. Akad.A.N.Veselovskii, V.A.Žukovskii, Poeziya čuvstva i serdečnogo voobraženiya, P.1918, p.440.

2. This word was completely adopted by the Russian language after the appearance of "The Poems of Ossian".

3. E.J.Simmons, English Literature and Culture in Russia 1553-1840, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1935, p.188.

4. Žukovskii, pp.322-331.

5. Ossian, footnote to p.305 ("Temora").



attention of Belinskiĭ, who wrote in 1843<sup>1</sup>: "... it is said that 'The Aeolian Harp' is an original work of Žukovskii's - we do not know whether this is so ; it is certainly, however, a beautiful and poetic work in which all the essence, all the fragrant charm of Žukovskii's Romanticism, is concentrated".

The scene of the action in "The Aeolian Harp" is Scotland - in fact, it is Morven, also described by Ossian. The heroine of "The Aeolian Harp" is called "Minvana" - a name which is also familiar to Ossian<sup>2</sup>. The Lord of Morven has a beautiful daughter Minvana. Many renowned knights come in crowds to Morven. But Minvana, disregarding her high station, loves a simple bard. They meet in moonlight on a hill near the lake. The bard realizes that as soon as day comes, Minvana will again be a queen, and he but a poor singer. Minvana promises always to belong to him and to be with the crowd only externally in her royal appearance. The singer departs but before his departure he "hung his harp under the slope of the branches"<sup>3</sup> as a pledge of his love, of the beautiful days that had passed. His harp would play again when he died and his soul passed into the strings. Then the harp would sing again and his beloved would recognize his voice calling her to him.

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. III , p.349.

2. Ossian, footnote to p.406 ("Berrathon") : "Minvane the daughter of Morni, and sister to Gaul".

3. Ossian, p.404 ("Berrathon") : "My harp hangs on a blasted branch".



The despondent Minvana continues to visit alone their former meeting-place. She sits sorrowfully under the tree from which the harp hangs. The harp is silent. One spring night, however, something touches the strings and a long melancholy sound resounds. Minvana knows it is a greeting from her friend. It has happened - the world is empty, her beloved has died. She knows she will follow him soon. When Minvana is dead, two shadows are seen flying to the place where she used to meet her lover, and the strings of the harp resound.

Not only is the plot of this poem based on the Celtic belief mentioned by Macpherson, but also the descriptions of nature are Ossianic - the mist, the water, the hills, the moonlight, etc. - the usual attributes of most imitations of the songs of Ossian. The whole atmosphere of this poem is Ossianic, and indeed it could be appropriately called a "Meditation on an Ossianic Theme".

The name Minvana occurs also in another work by Žukovskii, "Three sisters - the Vision of Minvana" ; a prose work about a girl's vision of three sisters called The Past, The Present, and The Future.

The Ossianic atmosphere can be observed in a few poems of A. S. P u š k i n (1799-1837). Ossian was very popular in the "Lyceum" of Tsarskoye Selo, and was read in the classes of

Professor Košanskiĭ<sup>1</sup> who tried to stimulate in his pupils an admiration for his beloved poet. Therefore there can be no doubt that the young Puškin not only read Ossian but knew him well. Puškin possessed two copies of Ossian. One of them, the French translation by Le Tourneur<sup>2</sup>, was all cut, though no notes were made in the margins. His English copy (London 1825) was not cut<sup>3</sup>.

Ossianic images, however, can be traced only in a small number of Puškin's early works. "The poetry of broken strength and despair" of Ossian, as described by E. Balobanova<sup>4</sup>, was too foreign to the vital strength of Puškin's poetry.

One notes with interest that the first choice of Puškin fell on one of the rare optimistic poems of Macpherson, "Colna-Dona". Puškin gave a free versification of it under the title "Kol'na" (1813)<sup>5</sup>. At that time Puškin did not yet know English well enough, and obviously used Kostrov's translation, repeating some of his mistakes. A poem "Evlega", written in 1814<sup>6</sup>, was supposed by Professor Mezelenov

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1. "Sovremennik", vol. XCVII, 1863, pp. 164-165.

2. "Ossian, fils de Fingal, barde du troisième siècle, poésies Galliques traduites sur l'anglais de M. Macpherson par Le Tourneur", Paris 1799, mentioned under No. 1230 in Puškin's library by B. L. Modzalevskiĭ, "Biblioteka Puškina", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. III, nr. 9/10, SPB 1910, p. 303.

3. Mentioned under No. 1120 in Puškin's Library.  
Cf. B. L. Modzalevskiĭ, *ibid.*, p. 278.

4. E. Balobanova, "Puškin i Ossian", in : Puškin (ed. Vengerov), vol. I, SPB 1907, p. 106.

5. Puškin, vol. I, p. 26.

6. Puškin, vol. I, pp. 31-32 : "Evlega".

to be composed under the influence of Ossian <sup>1</sup>. It appears, however, to be a free paraphrase of a paragraph from "Isnel et Aslega" by Parny (1798) <sup>2</sup>. However, some passages bear a remote likeness to Dar-thula. They, of course, might be Ossianic in an indirect way, since Parny's poem is also considered to have been written under the influence of Ossian <sup>3</sup>.

If we consider, however, that "Evlega" was written about the same time as "Kol'na", which is undisputably an adaptation of Colna-Dona, and "Osgar", a poem on the same motif as Ossian <sup>4</sup>, it becomes clear that Ossian occupied Puškin's mind at that time, and possibly some phrases remained in his memory and he made use of them while translating Parny.

In the same year, 1814, Puškin wrote "Osgar". The resemblance of this poem to those of Ossian has been noticed by Maikov <sup>5</sup>. It is an attempt to write an independent poem making use of the themes of Ossian. One should bear in mind that Puškin was only 15 at that time, and this explains his following Ossian in a rather naive way.

"Osgar" begins in a typically Ossianic atmosphere : The stones of a grave, the mist of midnight, an old bard standing on a rock... We meet here also Ossianic names, such as Osgar (Oscar), Malvina, Fingal, and the action takes place in Lora.

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1. Puškin (ed.Vengerov), vol. I, p.107.

2. Puškin, vol. I, p. 464.

3. Paul van Tieghem, *Le Preromantisme*, vol. I, Paris 1924, p.250, or P.van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, Paris 1917, p.406.

4. Puškin, vol. I, p. 33.

5. Puškin (ed.Maikov), vol. I, SPB 1900, p.40.

Later Puškin found Ossian rather monotonous, which is evident from a note made by him on the margin of an article by Vyazemskii<sup>1</sup>. He obviously did not take much interest in Ossian any more, since his English copy of Ossian remained uncut, though he was able to read in English.

A remote relationship to the Ossianic mood can be found in two other poems by Puškin, both written in 1815 : "The Knight Fallen in a Battle"<sup>2</sup> (the melancholy night atmosphere, the mist, the moon, the relics of a warrior on a hill), and "Napoleon on Elba"<sup>3</sup> (the misty moon, the clouds, Napoleon sitting alone on the wild rock).

"Garal' i Gal'vina" is a poem found in Puškin's papers and supposed to be written by him, though there is no trustworthy proof of its authorship<sup>4</sup>. By Puškin or not, it is a meditation on Ossianic themes. The sad Gal'vina (probably Ossian's Malvina) is meeting her beloved in the darkness of a cave. When the warrior should depart to battle, Gal'vina persuades him to stay with her and to forget his duty. The time comes when other victorious warriors return to their native shores, and put their swords and shields at the feet of their betrothed. No hero's sword is put before Gal'vina. She sighs, and ... falls in love with another warrior. The downcast Garal' goes to war to seek death.

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1. See above p. 24.

2. Puškin , vol. I , p. 139 : "Sražennyĭ rycar'".

3. Puškin , vol. I , p. 114.

4. Puškin , vol. I , p. 508.

Love, set against the background of war, water, and mist, the ships, the cave, the call to the fight, the songs of the skalds - all these are well-known elements of Ossian; rare, though not quite unknown in Ossian, is the element of unfaithfulness.

With these poems the relationship between Puškin and Ossian seems to be exhausted. This relationship was neither deep nor prolonged. The vital and optimistic Puškin could not appreciate for any length of time the desperate grief of the Scottish bard, and it was only in his youth that Puškin was carried away by the common fashion of following Ossian.

Another great Russian poet, M. Y. L e r m o n t o v (1814-1841), was of distant Scottish origin himself. A certain George Learmonth left Scotland at the beginning of the 17th century, went to Poland, was taken captive by the Russians in 1613, and brought to Russia. This Learmonth was the poet's ancestor in the 8th generation.

It is doubtful whether Lermontov himself ever considered himself Scottish but it is obvious that he was extremely interested in this country, and liked to speak of it as the land of his ancestors. However, one gets the impression that the young poet was posing slightly in his attitude to Scotland, and considered it interesting and impressive to be of foreign origin.

Lermontov learned English at the age of 15; a friend and relative of his, Šan-Gireĭ, wrote in his memoirs<sup>1</sup> that Michel (i.e. Lermontov)

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1. "Russkoye Obozreniye", 1890, vol.IV, p.728.

began to learn English from a Mr. Winsor about 1829. He learned it by using Lord Byron's works instead of a text-book, and in several months' time was able to read and to understand English well. Though Šan-Girei goes on to write that he had never seen Michel reading any English books except those of Byron, Th. Moore, and Sir Walter Scott, there can be no doubt that Lermontov read other authors in English as well, for example Shakespeare, which is evident from his letter to M.A. Šan-Girei, written in 1831<sup>1</sup>, where he described the advantages of reading "Ha mlet" in the original. He must have known Ossian's poems also, even if he did not read them in the original. He was a man of vast reading, and was too interested in the country of his ancestors not to read a book which was still extremely popular at that time. He even dedicated one of his poems to Ossian. The University friends of Lermontov spoke about him as a gloomy looking youth, always reading English books during the lectures.

It was remarked by Viskovatyĭ<sup>2</sup> that, feeling a stranger in the house of his grandmother, where he was brought up, Lermontov tried to escape in meditation on the life of his ancestors. This explains why in 1830 he called Scotland "my Scotland", and its wind "my native wind"<sup>3</sup>.

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1. M.Y. Lermontov, Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ, vol. V, M.L. 1937, p. 364.

2. P.A. Viskovatyĭ, "Mihail Yur'yevič Lermontov, Biografiya", in : Lermontov, Sočineniya, vol. 6, M. 1891, p. 82.

3. In another poem, however, he spoke about his "Russian soul".

His poem "The Tomb of Ossian", written after he had heard a traveller's description of it, is full of affection for "his" Scotland. Behind the curtains of mists, under the stormy skies stands the tomb of Ossian in the mountains of his native Scotland. His spirit flies there to breathe his native wind, and to borrow new life from that tomb.<sup>1</sup>

In his poem "A Wish"<sup>2</sup>, written shortly after the "Tomb of Ossian", Lermontov regretted that he was not a bird. Then he would fly to the West, where his ancestors' fields were flourishing, where in an empty castle in misty hills their ashes rested. He added that he wished to touch the string of the Scottish harp and regretted that between himself and his fatherland were the waves of the seas. He - the last descendant of the daring warriors - had to wither among foreign snows.

A poem written in Ossianic mood is Lermontov's "The Wife of the North"<sup>3</sup> which is based on a belief in the existence of a northern woman who appeared in old times among the cliffs and the northern woods. The sons of Finns erected her temples ; the skalds, who alone were allowed to see her without paying for it with death, dedicated their songs to her.

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1. Lermontov, vol. I , M.-L.1936, p.116.

2. Lermontov, vol. I , M.-L.1936, p.188.

3. Lermontov, vol. I , M.-L.1936, p.50 : "Žena severa".



Another of Lermontov's poems where the Ossianic influence is noticeable is his unfinished poem "Oleg" (1829)<sup>1</sup>. Not only is it written in Ossianic mood, gloomy, solemn, and emotional, but Ossian's influence is evident also in the choice of subject : the theme has been taken from the old heroic Russian past. There are more of Lermontov's poems, especially those written in his youth, where he uses Ossianic images, but there seems to be no direct parallels to the poems of Ossian, nor any direct borrowings from them.

Lermontov was the last of the great Russian poets who, though in a small degree and for a short time, came under the charm of Ossian.

Ossian's influence in Russia, already fading in the 20-ies, died away in the 30-ies, having given way to that of Sir Walter Scott. In this sense Ossian prepared the ground for Scott, not only by evoking admiration for Scotland in Russia , but also by stimulating the interest in Russia's own poetical and historical past. The Scottish bard was replaced by the "Mighty Magician", the lyrical joy in grief by a quiet, objective Romanticism. The interest in the heroic past remained, however, and with it an enhanced admiration for Scotland.

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1. Lermontov, vol. III , M.-L.1935 ,pp.59-62.



III.

O S S I A N     A N D     S I R     W A L T E R     S C O T T  
A N D     T H E     I N T E R E S T     I N     T H E  
R U S S I A N     N A T I O N A L     P A S T .  
I N T E R E S T     I N     S C O T L A N D .

Whatever the direct effect made by Ossian on Russian literature, the main consequence of his impact was the fact that he helped to draw the attention of Russians to their own extremely rich store of popular poetry. If Scotland possessed a folk-lore of high literary value, perhaps Russia too, it was thought, could find among her popular poetry works of importance for literature. The Northern man represented in Ossian's songs was brave and virtuous ; may be a similar virtue was common also to the Russian national heroes. A striking statement in connection with this question was made by Vyazemskii. Speaking about one of Ossian's Russian imitators - Ozerov - Vyazemskii remarked : "The Northern poet transports himself under a sky akin to his own sky, contemplates landscape akin to his own landscape, finds in the temperament of its sons a simplicity and in their deeds a courage, which engender in him an obscure yet vivid conviction that his ancestors burned with the same courage, and had the same simplicity of temperament, and that the characters of those homogenous wild sons of the North were cast by nature in a common icy vessel" <sup>1</sup>.

If so, it was quite natural for the Russians to begin to search for a national folk-lore of their own, which would describe the nature and the deeds of their own national heroes. Unfortunately this resulted not only in a search for the genuine sources of Russian folk-lore, but

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1. Puškin approved this opinion in a note : " good, daring".

Cf. Puškin, vol. VII , pp.559-560.

also in the development of a false and artificial idea of the national spirit and habits, bringing into existence works based on a spurious folk-lore. The intensive interest in Russian folk-lore began soon after the appearance of Ossian in Russia, and was strengthened by various causes of political and social character. The metre of Russian folk-songs was studied by Russian poets. Deržavin, Radiščev and Batyuškov frequently turned to Russian mythology. M.Čulkov helped to propagate Russian folk-lore in his magazine "This and That" ("To i syo") by publishing in it a number of folk-songs, proverbs, and fairy-tales. A.Levšin published his "Russian tales", which have the character of pseudo-folk-lore.

Strengthened by the appearance of the Slovo, the interest in folk-lore became even deeper. In the 19th century poets paid more and more attention to Russian popular poetry. More and more frequently plots were taken, or purported to be taken, from the wealth of Russian folk-lore. There was almost no poet of importance in the first half of the 19th century who had not paid his tribute to folk-lore in one way or another. Let us take only a few examples. Žukovskii wrote fairy-tales in verse, and translated the Slovo from old Russian into modern Russian. Puškin's interest in folk-lore was especially keen, his works are full of folk traditions, he produced verse adaptations of some Russian fairy-tales into verse, he collected Russian folk-songs, planned an article on Russian songs, and wrote an article on the Slovo. Lermontov's "Pesnya pro kupca Kalašnikova" was written in the spirit of Russian folk-lore.

An especially keen interest in national originality ("narodnost'") was shown by those poets who were members of the Decembrist movement.

These examples are sufficient to show how wide was the interest in Russia's folk-lore at that time. It would, however, be too extravagant to assert that all that interest was the result of Ossian's influence, since there were many good reasons for such a development. Nevertheless Ossian was the first to open Russian eyes in this direction. By reading Macpherson's work, by taking an interest in the controversy about its authenticity, the Russian reader acquired for the first time the idea that perhaps Russian folk-lore also had its own charm and beauty, and had too a potential value for literature.

Other literary idols replaced Ossian but the interest in folk-lore stimulated by him remained. To this interest a further concern for the literary presentation of the historical past was added by another Scottish author - Sir Walter Scott, who was probably the most beloved and best-known foreign author in Russia of any time. These two Scottish authors strengthened Russian patriotic feelings by the example of their deep love for their native country. The tendency promoted by Ossian - the interest in the national poetic past - was continued in a new way by Sir Walter Scott, or Val'ter-Skott, as he was generally known in Russia<sup>1</sup>. It was now not only the literary past, but also the historical

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1. The reason for this might be not only that he was usually called so in France but also because of the meaning of the word "scot" ("СКОТ") in the Russian language. It means "cattle", and is often used abusively. Probably the Russian admirers of Sir Walter Scott did not think it appropriate to call by that name the author so beloved by them.

past, which became interesting and required investigation. It was mostly the period of Muscovy that found writers to describe it. Like Sir Walter Scott, the Russians did not look too far back into their history, but tried to find their subjects in comparatively recent historical periods, and, as in the case of Sir Walter Scott, their main interest was centred upon times of internal troubles.

The interest taken in Sir Walter Scott was immediate and eager. It was probably helped by some internal political reasons and the recent successful war against Napoleon, - for it was only after this war that Sir Walter Scott appeared in Russia. That war had already awakened Russian patriotism, so that the ground was well prepared for the interest taken in the Scottish writer's work. It was a tremendous interest and it became apparent not only in literature but also in every day life. Everything Scottish became the fashion <sup>1</sup>. Tartans were imported and worn <sup>2</sup>. Fancy dresses, representing characters from Scott's novels, were worn at court balls. Scott's characters and plots became the subject of everyday conversation <sup>3</sup>. Karamzin dreamed about a Walter-Scott monument in his garden, and described his evenings as spent in reading Scott's works.

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1. "Je trouve partout un enthousiasme pour l'Écosse", said Baron A. Meyendorff in his letter of 20th June 1830 to Sir Walter Scott. Cf. G. Struve, "Russian friends and correspondents of Sir Walter Scott", in : "Comparative Literature vol. II , 1950
  2. "Severnaya Pčela", 1827, Nr. 138.
  3. I. I. Zamotin, op.cit., vol. II , pp. 341-342.

Prince Vyazemskii stated that it was simply impossible for a novelist not to imitate Scott, and Puškin found that Sir Walter Scott's influence had penetrated into every type of literature <sup>1</sup>. Periodicals were full of Sir Walter Scott - and of everything that was in any way connected with the "Mighty Magician". A.I.Turgenev, in a letter to Prince Vyazemskii (7th September, 1836), wrote that he hoped that the Scottish coal smoke would open the eyes of Tartar Russia, that the native land of Walter Scott would bring benefit to the fatherland of Karamzin and Deržavin <sup>2</sup>. I.Lažečnikov, one of Scott's imitators, wrote to Belinskii that unfortunately the Russians were unable to become Walter-Scotts, though nowadays only Walter-Scotts were read and admired by the Russian public <sup>3</sup>. The Decembrists found pleasure in reading Scott's works while in exile.

The interest in Sir Walter Scott's work evoked an interest in his person too. Visits to Abbotsford were made and letters written to the "premier génie de ce siècle" <sup>4</sup>. A long and detailed account of his visit to Scotland was given by A.I.Turgenev in letters written in 1828 to his brother Nikolai <sup>5</sup>. A.I.Turgenev spent about 6 weeks in Scotland, visited many places of interest, was in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, and in the Highlands, described in his letters Smollett's monument near Loch

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1. Puškin, vol. VII, p.139.

2. "Literaturnyi Arhiv", 1938, p.85.

3. N.L.Brodskii (ed.), Belinskii i ego korespondenty, M.1948, p.184.

4. G.Struve, op.cit., p.308.

5. A.I.Turgenev, Pis'ma k N.Turgenevu, Leipzig 1872, pp.396-600. See also G.Struve, "A Russian traveller in Scotland", in: "Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine", vol.258, 1945, pp.342-349.

Lomond, Ossian's cave and hall. He met many leading Scots of that period : Jeffrey, editor of the "Edinburgh Review", the Scottish poet Mackenzie, Lord Minto, the Duke of Hamilton, several professors of the University of Edinburgh, and many others. But most fascinating of all is the account of his visit to Abbotsford. He was very warmly received by Sir Walter Scott, and, though he arrived without warning, was at once invited to stay there for several days. Scott talked much to him during that visit, explained to him with enthusiasm the Scottish national songs, the Scottish clans and their historical past. They talked also of literature, and Scott showed Turgenev his books and records of Scottish antiquarian societies and other curiosities. Turgenev described Scott's house as full of antiquities and curiosities of all kind, among which he found several things of Russian origin <sup>1</sup>.

In another letter to his brother Turgenev mentioned a conversation between himself and Scott about one of the Russian admirers of Scott - the poet Kozlov.

Among Russian correspondents of Sir Walter Scott are to be mentioned : Denis Davydov, the "Black Captain" of the war of 1812, A.Izmailov - the editor of the Russian magazine "Blagonamerennyi", and the poetess A.Bunina <sup>2</sup>. Her letter to Scott, written in March

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1. There is still a Russian cross at Abbotsford.

2. G.Struve, "Russian friends and correspondents of Sir Walter Scott", p. 323.

1817, contained a request to translate "Marmion" into Russian, a notable indication of Scott's popularity in Russia at a time when his works had not appeared in Russian. Probably at the same time Bunina sent to Scott the gift of a copy of her own poems that are still among Scott's books at Abbotsford <sup>1</sup>.

From all this evidence it is abundantly clear that Sir Walter Scott, whose very name proclaims his nationality, induced Russian readers to admire Scotland as well as to admire and to study their own native country.

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1. Cf. Catalogue of the Library at Abottsford, Edinburgh 1838, p.168.



IV.

THE IMPACT OF SIR WALTER SCOTT ON RUSSIA.

# 1. The Conception of Sir Walter Scott's Novels in Russia.

In the thirties of the 19th century the novel was in process of becoming the most fashionable literary genre in Russia, and had begun to replace the writing not only of drama but also of poetry. The ideal of a novelist at that time was to reach the standard of Sir Walter Scott<sup>1</sup>, and it is interesting to learn of the way in which his novels were understood in Russia<sup>2</sup>. Russia's literary interests were closely linked with France. Most of Scott's works were translated into Russian from the French, and French literary journals were widely read. The Russian conception of Sir Walter Scott's novels was in many ways influenced by French criticism<sup>3</sup>.

Scott's literary formula, as it was understood in Russia, consisted in presenting the national spirit and way of life of the people, in the prevalence of the historical element over the love intrigue, in an imaginative use of local colour, and, last but not least, in the realistic manner of Scott's presentations.

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1. "The novels of Walter Scott are the ideal of a novel", declared the literary journal "Teleskop" in 1831.
  2. Historical novels existed in Russia before Sir Walter Scott but they were of a different kind. Cf. V.V.Sipovskii, "Russkii istoričeskii roman pervoi poloviny 19 stoletiya", in : "Stat'yi po slavyanskoj filologii i russkoj slovesnosti, Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk SSSR", vol. 101. Nr. 3.
  3. For the French conception of Scott's novels, see L.Maigron, op.cit.

This last quality especially appealed to those readers, such as Puškin and Belinskii, whose appreciation of Sir Walter Scott was both deep and intelligent. In contrast, the average reader and the minor Russian authors considered one of the main elements of Scott's manner to be his detailed descriptions of costumes and customs, and the correctness of the historical facts presented by him. Only later was it understood by Russians that it was not so much the historical facts presented by him that were important in the works of Sir Walter Scott or the correctness of the descriptions of costumes, houses etc., as the presentation of the spirit of the epoch.

"The beauty of Scott's works does not consist in his better and clearer understanding of history but in his ability to describe historical phenomena in deeper relief and in a more colourful way", wrote Zamotin in his work on the Russian Romanticism of that period <sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately not many of Scott's Russian imitators were able to accept this point of view ; most of them burst forth into historical details which were sometimes of rather doubtful authenticity.

The national element in Scott's works particularly appealed to the Russians, and they longed to see Russia's own past presented in literary form. A typical feature of the Romantic Movement, the

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1. I.I.Zamotin, op. cit., vol. II , p.317.

national element, which was so strongly presented in the works of Scottish authors, was just the thing to feed the Russian imagination, to call forth imitations, and to teach serious authors the manner in which to present their own national past. Unfortunately, this ability of Sir Walter Scott, a product of his historical-antiquarian mind, was not always correctly understood. The attempts to apply it to Russia often resulted in singing the praises of the past and in a false sensation of national originality without any real presentation of the national spirit. Such an idealization of the past helped indeed to satisfy the thirst for national originality but failed to inspire any serious literary work in which a true historical spirit could be presented.

There were, however, men who understood Sir Walter Scott better and were able and willing to be guided by him to a deeper comprehension of history and a truer presentation of it in a novel. The writing of a historical novel by Puškin was, for instance, preceded by a serious study, not only of the facts, but also of all sorts of details which could throw light on the spirit of the people of the period in question.

The same can be said about the presentation of the way of life of the people, and of Scott's ability to give local colour not only to the spirit of the people but also to their way of life. Here Scott's imitators again failed.

"Into the age into which they want to transfer the reader they themselves move with a great stock of their own domestic

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habits, prejudices, and day-to-day impressions ... How many absurdities, unnecessary trifles, important omissions, how much refinement, and, above all, how little life..." said Puškin of Scott's imitators. In fact, instead of picturing the way of life of the people in a particular period, Scott's Russian imitators presented an imaginary way of life and unreal characters in their idealization of the past. Again, only authors of real talent understood what was needed to portray the past way of life of a people, and they plunged into serious studies of all the available sources.

Scott's local colour consisted in the eyes of the average Russian of the period only in the colourful and detailed descriptions, especially of costumes, houses, and castles, and in his use of local vernacular.

The mastery of Scott's dialogues was soon noticed, and in this Sir Walter Scott found in Russia innumerable disciples, though the Russian public was at first a little shocked by his use of "rude" expressions.

The "picturesqueness" of Scott's presentation was one of his qualities most admired in Russia, and the Russian authors tried their hands at colourful descriptions of the Russian past.

The next element in Scott's works, the preponderance of the historical element over the love intrigue, often resulted

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in the hands of his Russian followers in the creation of two almost independent plots which seldom crossed each other, and which, for the most part, existed quite separately, while in the works of Sir Walter Scott they are closely connected throughout. Gogol', on the other hand, preferred another extreme : to create a character whose whole existence is justified by historical events, and who has, in fact, no personal life at all. In his novel, "Taras Bul'ba", the love intrigue is not even attached to the main character but to a minor one.

Scott's realistic manner of presentation, his "objectivity", as it was called in Russia, was the feature of his works most widely appreciated by serious Russian readers. This quality was most important for the further development of Russian literature. It was, however, left almost unnoticed by the general reader. The character of Scott's Romanticism, which is not so much opposed to the natural and the genuine as to the trivial, was understood only by the "chosen ones". The general reader saw Sir Walter Scott as a writer of the mysterious, the recorder of the joust legends, and from this point of view Sir Walter Scott was for him a follower of Radcliff and others.

The Russians understood the important role of the epigraphs in the works of Sir Walter Scott, who made them an essential part of his work, closely connected with the basic plot. Epigraphs

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subsequently began to appear in the majority of Russian literary works. Similarly poems and songs were introduced into the narratives.

Scott's method of literary mystification appealed to Russian authors and produced a flow of anonymous or semi-anonymous works. This method was especially favoured by the great authors. Like Scott's introductions, the prefaces to Russian historical novels often gave all sorts of biographical details about the invented authors, and frequently mentioned various manuscripts, letters etc., among the imaginary sources of the work. As in Scott's novels, they were often connected with several humorous incidents.

His literary methods was not the only legacy left by Scott to Russian literature. His plots provided an endless source of borrowings, and some general lines can be traced here. Following, in part, the method of the picaresque novel, Sir Walter Scott described in many of his novels a journey during which all sorts of adventures happened to the hero. This travelling hero was taken over by Russian authors and became a stock character in almost every historical novel. <sup>As</sup> Like in Scott's "Waverley", the description of this journey is sometimes preceded by an account of the hero's youth, and this was done by Puškin in "Kapitanskaya dočka". Quite frequently Scott's heroes are saved by the heroines, or vice versa. The same happens in Russian historical novels, and not only in those of minor authors. Even Puškin introduces a similar episode.

Scott's heroes are often arrested, and an interrogation takes place. Here also he is followed by the Russian novelists. As in Scott, a duel becomes an almost essential element of the plot. Sometimes, as also in Scott, this duel is interrupted by a third person. Another episode much favoured by Russian authors since "Ivanhoe" and "Waverley" first became known to them was that of a wounded hero nursed by a beautiful woman. Almost all Russian historical novelists, including Puškin, have used this expedient to develop an attachment between the two.

Regarded by most Russians as quite inseparable from Scott, and therefore as essential to the historical novel, were the descriptions of old castles and fortresses, just as misty hills and waters were, from the time of Ossian's popularity, viewed as being inseparable from the description of any Northern landscape. As in Scott's novels, the periods presented in a Russian historical novel were usually times of internal troubles, but only by authors of real talent were they described as impartially as by Sir Walter Scott himself.

The third element of Scott's works which made an impact on Russian literature were his characters. Only in the case of Lermontov did this element, above all others, form the chief source of impact ; it was, however, Lord Marmion's person who interested Lermontov, and , also to a certain extent, Elshie, - neither of them characters from a historical novel.

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In his historical novels Sir Walter Scott prefers to choose an average impersonal man for his main hero, and the interest of the reader is sometimes for a long time centred upon another person. In such "impersonality" of the main character Belinskiĭ saw the essence of an epic work, and passionately rebuked the attacks of other Russian critics on Scott's "unimportant characters". Following Sir Walter Scott, the Russian historical novelists portrayed average men as their heroes. As is sometimes the case in Scott, e.g. "Waverley", these heroes were frequently young men who matured only in the course of the story. The historically famous persons were also presented, but only in the background. In this portraying of historical characters Scott's impact was especially strong. The Russian reader understood at once and highly valued Scott's simple "domestic" approach to the historical personalities. Scott's Russian disciples followed his steps, and portrayed historical persons not in a solemn way but in a human, domestic manner.

Not only was Scott regarded as a wonderful narrator by Russians of that period but he was also recognized as the talented creator of a whole gallery of characters. In the forties, however, it was stressed by Belinskiĭ that Sir Walter Scott portrayed his characters from "outside", not noticing the existence of the internal man,



It is rather difficult to say which of Scott's novels was the most popular in Russia. Their popularity varied in every generation. While later generations knew Sir Walter Scott mostly from his "Ivanhoe", it was "Waverley", "Old Mortality", and "The Bride of Lammermoor" that enjoyed probably no less a popularity in the period when the cult of Scott in Russia was at its height. Scott's "History of Napoleon" was, on the contrary, a work which was at once condemned by the Russians, and regarded as not worthy of Scott.

While Scott's works produced an uncritical admiration in the reader in the twenties, some of his shortcomings were noticed in the thirties, among them the length of the works. The works of all the Russian historical novelists are much shorter, and their plots are usually less involved than Scott's.

Sir Walter Scott was for the Russian of the first half of the 19th century not only the creator of a new genre but was considered an unapproachable ideal by his imitators, or a dangerous rival by the first-rate Russian authors, as for instance Puškin. The period of Scott's greatest popularity in Russia coincided with the Russian efforts to produce a prose literature of their own, and naturally all eyes turned to him for help. The different forms that this "help" took in Russian literary works will be seen from the following analyses of Scott's impact on various Russian authors.

## 2. Sir Walter Scott and the Historical Novel in Russian Criticism.

Against the background of the general admiration of the historical novel as a literary genre and the worship of Sir Walter Scott's talent the isolated, brusquely negative attitude of a Polish-born Russian critic O. J. Senkovskii (1800-1858), alias Baron Brambeus, appears as a challenge to the opinion of that time. Clever, as he was, Baron Brambeus is known as an eccentric and cynical "enfant terrible" of Russian criticism. It is difficult to say how much sincerity there was in his attack on the historical novel - some authors think that his opinion was held in advance of his time <sup>1</sup> - but it was so unusual in the Russia of that period, and, besides, it was expressed in such a provocative manner, that one cannot help suspecting that its author's chief aim was to appear witty and original.

"I do not like historical novels", he said in 1835 <sup>2</sup>, "I like morality. It is adverse to my soul to take an illegitimate child

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1. Cf. P.Struve, "Zametki pisatelya", in : "Rossiya i slavyanstvo", Paris 1932, No. 203, who describes the controversy on this topic between Senkovskii and Belinskii, and comes to the conclusion that time has proven Senkovskii's opinion to be basically right.

See also P.Struve, "Walter Scott and Russia", in : "Slavonic Review", vol.11, London 1933 , pp. 406-408.

2. O.Senkovskii (Baron Brambeus), Sobraniye sochinenii, SPB 1859, vol. 8 ,pp.29-49.

into my arms : the historical novel is, in my opinion, a collateral son without kith or kin, the fruit of a seductive adultery between History and Imagination , it is a monster, composed of two heterogeneous and counteracting elements , ... it is a false form of beauty". The historical novel was, in his opinion, a mystification, a fraud. While reading a historical novel, he said, only a scholar of history was able to distinguish between what belonged to tradition, and what was an arbitrary embellishment. The general reader, however, was continually worried by incertitude in this "solution of truth and invention" : he wanted to believe the author but at every step was frightened of being deceived.

Applying these dicta to the case of Sir Walter Scott, Senkovskii decided that Scott, feeling that his poetic glory was on the decline, rushed into charlatanry, and prepared a mixture of truth and invention blended so skilfully that it was impossible to recognize where truth ended and where invention began. Contrary to all expectations he succeeded, and the historical novel appeared in the world.

Senkovskii nevertheless came to the conclusion that in his own way Sir Walter Scott was unique. Though the basis and origin of his works were false, yet his talent was enormous and specially adjusted to this sort of writing ; the genre itself, in fact, was made to satisfy this talent and was its result. Of Scott's imitators Senkovskii placed Victor Hugo higher than Sir Walter Scott himself. "Walter Scott's soul was full of poetry without being poetic", Senkovskii claimed.

Sir Walter Scott, in his opinion, was also guilty of spoiling the literary taste of his readers in that he prepared them for a "monstrous mannerism" by filling his stage with executioners, gipsies, Jews, and offered to readers the repulsive poetry of the gallows, the scaffold and the slaughter-house, drunken mobs and wild passions. "The appearance of *Quentin Durward*", thought Senkovskii, "was the beginning of <sup>2</sup> 'literature of frenzy' ('ne-istoyaya slovesnost')". Scott's imitators tried to go even further than their master, exaggerating, condensing, and varying all the terrors. "Walter Scott was unique in his forgery, but this forgery was hardly worthy of imitation", Senkovskii concluded.

No wonder that this annihilating criticism of an accepted literary form and a favourite author was regarded by other critical minds of Russia almost as a personal insult. It brought forth a passionate reply from V. G. B e l i n s k i i (1810-1848), and a reaction from N.V.Gogol' <sup>1</sup>, that, in fact, represented the general attitude of that time. "Baron Brambeus", Belinskii wrote in his "Literary Dreams", "was a misanthrope who, realizing his own worthlessness gave vent to his bile on everything that stood higher than himself" <sup>2</sup>. In Belinskii's opinion, Scott's historical novel consisted in portraying the spirit and the mode of life ("byt") of a past time, and in choosing historical persons as heroes.

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1. See below p. 61.

2. Belinskii, op. cit., vol. I, p. 87.

Scott had discovered, or rather guessed, the epic form natural to his own period - the historical novel. Though Sir Walter Scott had many imitators he remained the only genius in this field <sup>1</sup>. Those who thought that the historical novel was a false kind of literature did not understand what historical truth was, argued Belinskiĭ. Historical truth does not consist in a correct account of historical facts, but in a correct account of the development of the human spirit during a certain period. Historians come to different conclusions from the same facts.

In stressing the subjective approach to historical facts Belinskiĭ was far ahead of the then prevailing concept of history. Senkovskii, however, was from this point of view a typical representative of his period, and naively believed in the possibility of establishing an absolute truth in history.

The justification of a subjective rendering of history lay, Belinskiĭ said, in the fact that in this field art tallied with knowledge : a historian became an artist and an artist became a historian. The aim of a historian was to trace the spirit of a nation at a given period in such a manner that <sup>α</sup> pulse of life would be felt in his rendering and the idea expressed by a certain nation at a certain period <sup>2</sup> would imbue his narrative. In this sense, he

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. I , p.569.

2. The question of the nature of the historical novel as a literary genre has been raised lately by Russian scholars in the USA. Cf. N. Ul'yanov, "Istoričeskii roman", in : "Novyi Zhurnal", New York 1953, No.34, Prof. M. Karpovich's comments on it in the following (35) issue, and the reply of Ul'yanov in No.36.

argued, Sir Walter Scott was a historian in the full and highest meaning of that word. The reason why Scott was so interesting and sound in the representation of the historical truth was that he portrayed the spirit of the period without going into unnecessary details.

The judgements expressed by Senkovskii obviously continued to worry Belinskii, and he returned to them in reviewing a translation of Allan Cunningham's book on Scott <sup>1</sup>. Why should preference be given to a drama, he asked. The plays of Shakespeare, Schiller and Goethe should also be considered illegitimate children of the imagination, he argued, since they, too, took their plots from history. Why then was it impossible for a historical life to be the subject of a novel? Who would be so stupid, he wondered, as to learn history from a historical novel? Why was it not permissible for a poet to portray in his own way a historical person, while any historian was, in greater or lesser degree, the creator of historical characters? Absurd as were all the doubts about the validity of a combination of history and invention, wicked as were the charges of immorality made against Scott, they seemed a mere trifle compared with doubts cast on the poetical talent of the author of "Puritans" <sup>2</sup> and "Ivanhoe". Without giving deeper reasons for his own opinion, Belinskii appealed to the general opinion of the world that had long since put a crown of poetical glory on

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1. Belinskii, vol. I, p.617.

2. Meaning "Old Mortality".



Scott's head, and exclaimed : "Is it for any self-styled baron to succeed in removing the crown from the radiant head of the richly talented baronet?" <sup>1</sup> Even in the forties, when the great vogue for Scott was over in Russia, Belinskiĭ retained his enthusiasm for his writings, and, reviewing the works of M.Y.Lermontov, expressed his views on the organic development of Scott's works, which, in his opinion, was the cause of the general impression of unity left by each of the works, the tonality, the uniqueness of each of them, which were unforgettable even after all the characters and the plot of a Scott novel were forgotten <sup>2</sup>.

There were people, Belinskiĭ went on to write, who reproached Scott for the colourlessness of his main characters, but this was not a shortcoming but rather a natural characteristic of an epic <sup>3</sup>. The "hero" of an epic was life itself, and not any person. The latter was only a centre in the development of the events, and had to bear only such traits as were common to mankind. In an epic, Belinskiĭ continued, the events suppressed the person and distracted our attention from him by their own diversity.

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that Belinskiĭ's passionate enthusiasm deprived him of any critical attitude

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. I , p.619.

2. He found similar characteristics in the works of Lermontov.  
Belinskiĭ, vol. II , pp.13-14.

3. Belinskiĭ, vol. II , p.489.



towards "the most positive mind", as he called Scott. The defect he saw in Scott's works was the "lack of a subjective element". He meant by this the lack of a psychological approach to the characters, as we would call it nowadays. It seemed as if "they did not suspect the existence of the internal man" he said of Scott and Cooper.<sup>1</sup> The best of Scott's works were, in his opinion, those filled with the dramatic element, such as, "The Bride of Lammermoor" and especially, "St. Ronan's Well", which was more human than the first<sup>2</sup>.

In his article on "Epic Poetry" Belinskiĭ returned to the question of the historical novel, and stressed its domestic character, so much admired by Puškin also. It is not only in the gala uniform that a historical person is pictured but in his dressing-gown and night cap. The historical novel is a point where history as a science and art meet. When reading a historical novel by Scott we become the contemporaries of the period, the citizens of the country where the action takes place, thought Belinskiĭ.

A year later, Belinskiĭ supplemented his opinion of the historical novel of Scott, pointing out that its substance and its main merit consisted in the vital and organic fusion of the general (the idea) with the particular (period, country, individual characters).

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1. Compare in this connection Carlyle's similar criticism : " Scott fashions them from the skin inwards, never getting near the heart of them". Th. Carlyle, "Sir Walter Scott", in : "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays", vol. V , London 1840, p.24.

2. Belinskiĭ, vol. II , pp.495-496.

In this connection Belinskiĭ stressed the objectiveness of Scott, the quality so much admired by Russians of that time. "He put aside his own personality", he remarked. "He wanted to fix on paper the visions and images arising before his internal eye ; he left others to judge and moralize about them <sup>1</sup>. And he was right in doing so, Belinskiĭ concluded, since he was not a master of judging, but a great master of creating. The quality chiefly admired by Belinskiĭ in Scott was his realistic manner. Scott was for him a "mirror of reality". He remained true to this opinion, and as late as in 1847 (the year preceding his death) he wrote that at the time of his greatest triumph the great Scottish novelist was misunderstood <sup>2</sup>. Everybody thought that the secret of his success consisted in the historical correctness of the customs and costumes ; the gist of the matter was, however, his faithfulness to reality, his lively and plausible presentation of persons, and his ability to base everything on the play of passions, interests, and mutual relations of the characters. The 19th century affirmed for ever in the person of Sir Walter Scott the significance of the novel, he declared.

It is worth pointing out here the views of a modern Russian historian, Prof. M.Karpovich(Harvard University) on the question of the historical novel <sup>3</sup>. The historical novelist has, in his

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. II , p.719.

2. Belinskiĭ, vol. IV , p.833.

3. M.Karpovich ,op.cit., pp. 299-300.

opinion, two objectives. One of them is to revive the past and draw it nearer to us, in order that we may believe in its reality and feel that we belong to it. But, at the same time, he must let us feel the historical distance which separates us from the past in order that we, looking at it with the eyes of our own epoch, do not lose the sensation of the distinctiveness of the epoch portrayed from our own ... The observance of historical distance by means of a stylised approach is, in the opinion of Karpovich, the characteristic of the historical genre.

N. V. G o g o l' (1809-1852) also reacted to Senkovskii's criticism of Sir Walter Scott. "Walter Scott", he wrote inter alia in his 'Review of Magazine Literature in 1834-1835', "this great genius, whose immortal works embrace life so fully, has been called a charlatan. And this (article) has been read in Russia, has been addressed to educated people who have read Walter Scott" <sup>1</sup>. A letter to the editor appeared shortly afterwards in "Sovremennik", edited by A.S. Puškin, initiated "A.B." It's author described Gogol's review as not sufficiently well grounded. It was later established that the author hiding behind the initials "A.B." was Puškin himself <sup>2</sup>.

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1. N.V. Gogol', *Sobraniye sočineniĭ* (in six volumes), vol. 6, M. 1953, p. 89.

2. Puškin, vol. VII, p. 709.

Among the other Russian critics of the first half of the 19th century who expressed an opinion about Sir Walter Scott V.N.Maïkov and A.Grigor'yev should be mentioned. Both these critics were in a position to approach the question of Scott's novels retrospectively, long after the vogue for Scott in Russia was over.

V. N. M a ï k o v (1823-1847) wrote his article on Sir Walter Scott and M.N.Zagoskin<sup>1</sup> in the year 1847<sup>2</sup>. Like the critics of the earlier period, Maïkov stressed Scott's objectiveness, his "neutrality"<sup>3</sup>. Walter Scott was the first to possess the secret of fully representing the past. He was the first to introduce an artistic element into history, the objective contemplation, the art of observing the represented object fully, completely, excluding his own personality. Maïkov, like Belinskiï, expressed his views on the status of the historical novel and came to the conclusion that the origin of the attitude which condemned it was a false view on the nature of poetry. To rebel against the historical novel was in his opinion the same as to rebel against any rendering of reality in art<sup>4</sup>.

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1. See below p.242-246.

2. V.N.Maïkov, Sočineniya, Kiew 1901, vol. I , pp.115-150.

3. Walter Scott, he meant, had for instance many reasons to be cross with his Antiquary. Such persons were enemies of his works maintaining that his literary form lead to the disfiguration of history. Their dry natures detested life itself. Nevertheless, Scott pictured his Antiquary objectively as a person absorbed in dead learning.

4. V.N.Maïkov ibid., p.121.

The numerous imitators of Scott proved best what an enormous store of talent and erudition was necessary for writing a historical novel. What, in the case of Sir Walter Scott was the result of a whole life time's study, and the fruit of stubborn unremitting toil, supported by a powerful spirit, to say nothing of his outstanding artistic talent, was , in the case of his imitators, merely the result of a fashionable enthusiasm, the fruit of an uninspired mediocrity.

Maikov tried to explain the reason for the popularity of the historical novel in Russia in the twenties and thirties and came to the conclusion that there were no psychological reasons for the interest in history in Russian society (meaning the younger generation), and that the true reason was the fashion of imitating the interests and ideas of Western Europe, in particular of France.

Appolon G r i g o r' y e v (1820-1864) was of the opinion that the whole "National Romantic" period in Russian literature was originated by Sir Walter Scott <sup>1</sup>. He placed the "great objectivity" of the Scottish novelist far above his world-outlook, which, in his opinion, was extremely narrow-minded. If it were not for this great objectivity in the world of miracles, the world of luxurious western life, and those sinful, passionate, and comical figures, Walter Scott, like Zagoskin, would long since have been neglected in Russia , he concluded.

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1. A. Grigor'yev, Kritičeskiye stat'yi, vol. I , p.525.

With Appolon Grigor'yev the survey of Scott's historical novel in Russian criticism of this period must end. In summary one can say that the qualities of Scott most admired by the Russian critics were his talent for objective representation, his neutrality, and his realistic approach, although Belinskiĭ, while acknowledging these qualities, saw somewhat deeper into the spirit of Scott's works. Russian authors learned from these qualities and, in addition, widely borrowed from Sir Walter Scott diverse plots.

It is worth noting that Scott is still a well-known author in Soviet Russia, and new translations continue to be made. A Soviet critic A.Gornfel'd found that the qualities still so attractive in Scott were his artistic honesty, his charming common-sense, his tender word-painting, his heroic women and human heroes, his simplicity and straightforwardness<sup>1</sup>.

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1. A.G.Gornfel'd, *Romany i romanisty*, M.1930, p.154.

### 3. The Works of Sir Walter Scott in Russia.

While it is mainly as a historical novelist that Sir Walter Scott acquired his fame in Russia, his poetical works also were well known there and had their effect on Russian literature. Though it was comparatively late that his works were translated into Russian, they were known in Russia before in French translations and partly in the original. While it was a rare exception to have a knowledge of English in the late 18th century, it seems to have been much more common in the twenties of the 19th century, and quite a few educated Russians were acquainted with English, though probably not so well as with French. Žukovskii and Kozlov read in English, as also did the Rayevskii family (Puškin's friends), the brothers Turgenev, and others. We find dozens of English books in Puškin's library<sup>1</sup>. It was, however, only in the late twenties that the knowledge of English became more widespread<sup>2</sup>. Until then the general reader turned to French translations of works written in English. It is typical of that time that for quotations the French

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1. See below pp. 72-73 and 82.

2. It might be that this increased knowledge of English was partly connected with the death of Lord Byron in Greece. Russian society of that time was very strongly helenophile, and Lord Byron's heroic death for the Greek cause further added to his popularity.



titles of Scott's works were mostly used. Only some of Scott's poetical works were translated into Russian, and these translations, mostly made from French prose translations, were extremely poor. Russian critics of that period understood that shortcoming. For example, N.Polevoi spoke ironically about the "unfortunate fate of Walter-Scott's poems in Russia", and when reviewing the translation of "Marmion" he said : " from French prose into Russian prose ...even worse than usual ...one cannot make out the sense at all ..." <sup>1</sup>. A poem sneering at the "French nationality" of Walter Scott appeared in "Moskovskii Vestnik" in 1827. The role of France as the medium through which Russians became acquainted with Sir Walter Scott has been investigated by a Soviet expert on Puškin's works, D.Yakubovič, in his article : " The Role of France in the acquaintance of Russia with Walter-Scott's novels" <sup>2</sup>. He comes to the conclusion that the role was enormous, and that between the Scottish original of Walter Scott's works and Russia stood "The French Walter Scott", a great literary figure in the 19th century.

The first full translations of Scott's poetical works into Russian were published in Moscow in 1823. Like the French translations, they were made in prose. One of them, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel", was

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1. "Moskovskii Telegraf", 1825, No.VI, p.98, quoted from D.Yakubovič, "Rol' Francii v znakomstve s romanami Val'ter Skotta", in : "Yazyk i literatura", vol. V , 1930, p.163.
  2. D.Yakubovič, "Rol' Francii v znakomstve s romanami Val'ter Skotta", in : "Yazyk i literatura", vol. V , 1930.



even translated from Polish (!), the other, "Rokeby", from English (a rare exception), retaining the notes of the English edition, instead of following the abbreviations of the French translations. In 1825 there appeared, also in Moscow, "The Bridal of Triermain", in 1827 "The Lady of the Lake", "The Field of Waterloo, and other selected ballads", and "The Lord of the Isles", - in 1828 : "The Vision of Don Roderick", "The Lady of the Lake" again, and "Marmion".

Probably the earliest mention of Scott's novels in Russia was a note about the appearance of "Waverley" in "Rossiiskii Museum" of 1815. Only several years later did the flow of translations of Scott's novels begin. These translations, like the translations of Scott's poetical works, were made mostly from the French, and justly deserved an epithet given to them later by Belinskiĭ : "dryannye" (trashy, worthless)<sup>1</sup>. In another place Belinskiĭ called them "monstrous" and "illiterate".

The first Russian translation from Scott's novels was probably a chapter from "Ivanhoe" (Isaac in the Prison) that appeared in "Vestnik Yevropy" in 1820. Then followed "Kennilworth" (1823)<sup>2</sup>,

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. III, p.138.

2. Zamotin and Kozmin mentioned as the first translation of a Scott novel "Beglec" (The Fugitive). Yakubovič who undoubtedly knew their works makes no reference to it. It has proved impossible to find out which, if any, of Scott's works was supposed to have been translated under this title. Cf. I.I.Zamotin, op.cit., vol.II, p.340; N.K.Kozmin, "Očerki iz istorii russkogo romantizma", in : "Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta", SPB 1903, p.73; and D.Yakubovič, op.cit., pp.166-167...

"The Legend of Montrose"(1824), "The Black Dwarf"(1824), "The Bride of Lammermoor"(1824), "Guy Mannering"(1824), "Old Mortality"(1824), "The Heart of Midlothian"(1825)<sup>1</sup>, "The Antiquary"(1825/26), "Ivanhoe"(1826), "Quentin Durward"(1826), "Waverley"(1827), "The Talisman"(1827), "Letters from France"(1827), "Paul's Letters"(1827), "St. Ronan's Well"(1828), "The Highland Widow"(1828), "Rob Roy"(1829), "Woodstock"(1829), "The Fortunes of Nigel"(1829), "Count Robert of Paris"(1829), "The Pirate"(1829), "The Fair Maid of Perth"(1829), "Redgauntlet"(1829), "The Monastery"(1829), "The Surgeon's Daughter"(1830), "The Chronicles of the Canongate"(1830), "Peveril of the Peak"(1830), "Castle Dangerous"(1833), and others. In 1829 appeared a translation of Scott's dramatic work "Halidon Hill", in 1831/32 Scott's "Life of Napoleon".

Not only were these translations "monstrous" from the point of view of the Russian language, but they also omitted Scott's typical introductions, his elaborate system of epigraphs, his parenthetical poems.

The titles of the Russian translations of Scott's novels corresponded to the French titles. For example, "Edinburgskaya temnica" ("La Prison d'Edimbourg") for "The Heart of Midlothian", or "Šotlandskiye Puritane" ("Les Puritans d'Ecosse") for "Old Mortality".

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1. A copy of this translation was in the possession of Sir Walter Scott. Cf. Catalogue of the Abbotsford Library, p.322.

Simultaneously with these publications, fragments of different poems and novels were published in periodicals.

In this connection it is interesting to note that most of the publications of Scott's works appeared in Moscow, and only a small number of his novels were published in St. Petersburg. Moscow seems to have accepted Scott's works much more enthusiastically than did St. Petersburg, which, even in the period of Scott's greatest popularity, retained a certain critical attitude. While Moscow periodicals were full of praise for Scott, the periodicals of St. Petersburg were a little more reserved, and now and then dared to express ironical and even contemptuous opinions about the popular fashion. It is amazing to find an expression like: "reading of Walter Scott's novels is useful when one has nothing better to do" <sup>1</sup>, in one of the periodicals of St. Petersburg at a time of the greatest popularity of Sir Walter Scott in Russia.

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1. "Severnaya Pčela", 1827, No. 115, in the review of the translation of the "Battle of Waterloo", written probably by Senkovskii.

V.

S I R     W A L T E R     S C O T T  
AND

A .     S .     P U Š K I N .

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1. Sir Walter Scott in the  
Opinion of A. S. Puškin.

Before proceeding to discuss the impact in general of Sir Walter Scott on Puškin (1799-1837), and, in particular, Puškin's opinion of Scott's works, some words must be said about Puškin's knowledge of English. The question of Puškin's knowledge of the English language has been the subject of many investigations by Russian scholars and Puškin's biographers. While they all agree that Puškin knew the language and was able to read in the original from about 1828, Puškin's previous knowledge of English appears to be a subject of argument <sup>1</sup>.

While Puškin's father declared that his son knew English perfectly even before going to school <sup>2</sup>, Puškin's sister was less extreme in her evidence, and stated that her brother started to learn English from her governess Miss Belly but studied it badly. Either Puškin's father exaggerated the extent of his son's knowledge, or Puškin had somewhat forgotten the language, which was possible, since there was no English in the "Lyceum", but

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1. Cf. V.M. Žirmunskiĭ, Puškin i Baĭron , L.1924, and a different opinion in : M.Cyavlovskiĭ, "Puškin i angliĭskiĭ yazyk", in : " Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. 5, No.17/18, P.1916.

2. "Puškin v vospominaniyah sovremennikov", L.1950 , p.21.

Puškin himself was not satisfied with his knowledge of English.

His interest in English literature stimulated the poet to resume his studies of English, and he tried to read Lord Byron's works in the original while staying in the South. A great help for him was the presence of his friend Nikolaï Rayevskii, who read with him, and his sister Yekaterina, to whom both young men applied for explanation of certain words, as they did not possess a dictionary<sup>1</sup>.

The fact that Puškin's knowledge of English was not as good as it might have been was obviously known to his friends. Bestužev ( a great admirer of Scott himself) wrote to Puškin in March 1825 recommending him to study the English language.<sup>2</sup>

Puškin himself recognized this need, and regarded the impossibility of studying it as one of the disadvantages of his banishment<sup>3</sup>. "I need the English language", he complained to Vyazemskii in November 1825.

Even if he read English books in the original at that time, he obviously had to turn also to the translations but he wanted to acquire his knowledge of literature at first hand, without any mediators, and there is no doubt that after 1828 he was able to do that. As attested by Barsukov, Muhanov, Bulgarin, and others<sup>4</sup>, Puškin acquired a perfect

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1. Y.Grot, Puškin i ego liceĭskiye tovarišči, SPB 1899, pp.52-53.

2. A.S.Puškin, Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ, vol. XIII, L.1937, p.150.

3. Puškin, vol. X, p.190.

4. M.Cyavlovskii, op.cit., pp.71-72.

knowledge of English after thorough study lasting about 4 months - probably in the year 1828.

An interesting piece of evidence has been omitted by Cyavlovskii. M.E.Yuzefovič<sup>1</sup> says that during the Erzerum campaign (1829) Puškin's extempore translation of Shakespeare and his understanding of English were faultless ; his pronunciation, however, was anything but English, since he had studied the language on his own, and pronounced the English script as Latin. Such was the opinion of a relative of Puškin, Černyšev, who knew English as his own language, and who, at the request of Yuzefovič, checked Puškin's knowledge.

From that time, he now and then used English expressions in his letters, drafts, and even gave an English title to his historical anecdotes - "Table-talk" (written at different times, but united under this title probably after 1830).

Among dozens of books in English, his library contained not only French-English and English-French dictionaries, but also John Walker's "Pronouncing Dictionary", though, curiously enough, all these dictionaries remained uncut<sup>2</sup>.

There is an evidence that Puškin had borrowed from a Scottish friend a "Scottish Dictionary"<sup>3</sup>, probably a glossary of Scottish

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1. M.E.Yuzefovič, "Vospominaniya o Puškine", in : "Russkii Arhiv", 1880, book 3 , pp.444-445.
  2. B.L.Modzalevskii, "Biblioteka Puškina", in : " Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. 3, No. 9/10, SPB 1910, pp.233 and 364.
  3. A.O.Smirnova, Zapiski, iz zapisnyh knižek 1826-1845, SPB 1895, p.159.

words and expressions. It seems more than likely that Puškin, even knowing English well, needed such a glossary when reading not only Scott, to whose works glossaries existed in some editions, but also Burns and other Scottish authors <sup>1</sup>.

It was generally considered in pre-revolutionary times that though Sir Walter Scott was one of Puškin's favourite writers, the marks left by him in the works of the Russian poet were not important and consisted in some insignificant details evident mostly in some of his prose works. While everybody knew about the "Lord Byron period" in Puškin's literary career <sup>2</sup>, only a few Russian critics paid serious enough attention to Sir Walter Scott as one of the sources of Puškin's

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1. Among others there were the following works of Scottish authors in Puškin's library, as listed by B.L.Modzalevskii, op.cit., :  
Rob. S m o l l e t t , "Roderick Random", "Peregrine Pickle", "Humphry Clinker", "Ferdinand Count Fathom", "Sir Launcelot Greaves", and Smollett's translation of Don Quixote (cf.Modzalevskii, p.146);- H.M a c k e n z i e , "The Man of Feeling", "The Man of the World" (Modzalevskii, p.147);- R.B u r n s , "The Poetical Works" (Modzalevskii, p.180);- John G a l t , "The Autobiography" (Modzalevskii, p.237);- J.G i l c h r i s t , "Collection of Ancient and Modern Scottish Ballads"(Modzalevskii, p.239);- Allan C u n n i n g h a m , "Notice biographique et littéraire sur Sir Walter Scott" (Modzalevskii, p.216);- J.M a c p h e r s o n , "The Poems of Ossian" (Modzal. p.278);- and a French translation of O s s i a n (Modzalevskii, p.303);- Th.C a m p b e l l , "The poetical Works"(Modzalevskii, p.322);- J.T h o m s o n , "The Seasons" (Modzalevskii, p.349). For Scott's works see below pp.82-83.
  2. See in this connection an interesting work on Puškin and Lord Byron by V.M.Žirmunskii, Puškin i Baïron, L.1924.



inspiration. It was in connection with the novel "Kapitanskaya dočka" that Scott's name was mostly mentioned. It was an exception to the general attitude when some Russian scholars considered seriously enough the Scott period in Puškin's literary career and attributed even more importance to it than to that of Lord Byron<sup>1</sup>. However, in the period between the revolution and the Second World War the influence of Sir Walter Scott on Puškin was the subject of several investigations by Soviet authors, and in this field of research the work of Yakubovič<sup>2</sup> was outstanding.

Lord Byron, Shakespeare, and Sir Walter Scott were probably the three names that attracted Puškin's special interest in English literature, that stood extremely high in his opinion. While Puškin was carried away by Byron at the beginning of his career, when he was searching for new methods and forms for his muse, his real enthusiasm for Shakespeare and especially for Scott developed later, when he had matured and was able to approach their works more consciously and to make better use of the possibilities offered by

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1. Akademik N.P.Daškevič, "Stat'yi po novoi russkoj literature", in : "Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk", vol.92, P.1914, p.379 ; and V.V.Sipovskij, "Puškin i romantizm", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol 6, No.23/24, P.1916, p.277.
  2. A book of his on Puškin and Sir Walter Scott was in print in 1938, but to my knowledge has never appeared on sale. All my efforts to get more information about the fate of this book have been unsuccessful, and I presume that the publishing of it was stopped in connection with the new "anti-Western-influence-policy" of the Soviet government.

them. That is the reason why Puškin never copied or imitated Scott, though he has widely assimilated his plots and made use of his ideas methods.

There is evidence that as early as 1820 Scott was known to Puškin. It is said that the young poet discovered that a sister of one of his friends - Yelena Rayevskaya - used to do translations of Scott's works into French. Being extremely modest, she usually destroyed the results of her efforts. Puškin found some scraps of paper under her window and was delighted, assuring everybody that these translations were extremely faithful <sup>1</sup>.

Though there is some doubt whether Puškin was able to pass judgment on the correctness of those translations, since he probably did not know English well enough at that time, it seems indisputable that Scott's works, or at least some of them, were familiar to Puškin at that time. As a matter of fact, Scott's first translations into Russian appeared in the same year, but one can assume with certainty that Puškin, who passionately followed all the new events in foreign literature, must have known Scott before 1820 in French translations.

It was probably Scott's use of local colour that first attracted Puškin's admiration. In the draft of a letter to N.I.Gnediō, written on April 29th, 1822, Puškin enthusiastically mentioned the poetical panoramas of Byron and Walter Scott, and considered his own pictures

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1. P.I.Bartenev, "A.S.Puškin v yužnoĭ Rossii", in : " Russkiĭ Arhiv", 1866, Nr. 8/9, p. 1115.

"pale" in comparison with them <sup>1</sup>. English literature <sup>2</sup> occupied the poet's mind at that time, and he gave it preference over the French hoping that its influence on works of Russian authors would be more useful <sup>3</sup>.

While it was mainly Byron in whom Puškin was particularly interested at that time, an active and persistent interest in Scott becomes apparent from his letters written in exile in Mihaïlovskoye : "Walter Scott is food for the soul" <sup>4</sup>, exclaimed Puškin. Next year he was longing to have new books by Scott <sup>5</sup>, and found traces of Scott's influence in the works of other Russian authors <sup>6</sup>. His admiration for the Scottish author was so great that the mere thought that Walter Scott was of the same opinion as himself - regarding Byron's Don Juan - gave him great satisfaction <sup>7</sup>. Not only did Graf Nulin in Puškin's poem arrive from Paris with a new novel by Walter Scott <sup>8</sup>, but Puškin's intention was to make "all Walter Scott" one of the items on Onegin's reading list, as is obvious from one of the drafts of "Yevgeniï Onegin" <sup>9</sup>.

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1. Puškin , vol. X , pp.647-648.

2. English and Scottish authors were rarely differentiated.

3. Puškin , vol. X , p.38 : a letter to N.I.Gnediĉ of June 27th, 1822.

4. "Walter Scott! eto pišĉa duši", Puškin , vol. X , p.L06 : a letter to his brother of November 1824.

5. Puškin , vol. X , p.138.

6. Puškin , vol. X , p.147 : a letter to A.A.Bestužev.

7. Puškin , vol. X , p.190 : a letter to Prince P.A.Vyazemskii.

8. Puškin , vol.IV , pp.241 and 243 : "Graf Nulin".

9. Puškin , vol. V , p. 589.

At that time Puškin's interest in prose was growing. He anticipated that he would sometime "lower himself to humble prose" and would render in it "the customs of the Russian past"<sup>1</sup>. This last reference seems to be influenced by Scott's practice of presenting the customs of the past.

But Puškin had his own idea about prose, expressed as early as 1822 : "Exactness and conciseness" were in his opinion, the main merits of prose<sup>2</sup>. And that was the point where he found a shortcoming in the works of his admired author. The heroine of Puškin's "A novel in letters", written in 1829, found superfluous pages in Walter Scott<sup>3</sup>. Several years later he returned to this quality of Scott - detailed descriptions - and wrote with slight irony in his diary : " I shall describe all the details for the benefit of a future Walter Scott"<sup>4</sup>. The Puškin scholar Yakubovič takes this at its face value, apparently not noticing the ironical note in it. Obviously, Puškin's admiration for the Scottish writer did not carry him away so far as to make him blind to Scott's limitations .

In 1830 , the year when Puškin wrote his "Povesti Belkina", a work in many ways connected with Scott, his mind was especially occupied with the creations of the "Mighty Magician". He raised him on an

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1. Puškin , vol. V , p.61 : "Yevgeniĭ Onegin".
  2. Puškin , vol.VII, p.15 : "O proze".
  3. Puškin , vol. VI, p.65 : "Roman v pis'mah".
  4. Puškin, vol.VIII, p.57.

unapproachably high pedestal and sharply criticized his unsuccessful imitators. "Walter Scott has carried away a whole crowd of imitators", Puškin wrote in an article on "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" by Zagoskin, a well-known Russian imitation of Scott, "but how far are they all from the Scottish magician; having called up the demon of the past, like Agrippa's <sup>1</sup> pupil, have proved incapable of controlling him and have become the victims of their own temerity. Into the age into which they want to transfer the reader, they themselves move with a great stock of their own domestic habits, prejudices, and day-to-day impressions ... How many absurdities, unnecessary trifles, important omissions, how much refinement, and, above all, how little life" <sup>2</sup>.

Scott's historical novels became a subject of Puškin's research and he observed that Scott's influence was apparent in all branches of contemporary literature. He even came to the conclusion, which seems to be generally accepted nowadays, that it was under this influence that the new French historical school was founded <sup>3</sup>.

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1. D.Yakubovič came to the conclusion that the name of Henry Cornelius Agrippa - a scientist and alchemist of the 15-16th century - might have been known to Puškin from Scott, by whom he is mentioned several times. Cf. D.Yakubovič, "Zametki o Puškine i Val'ter-Skotte", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. 38/39, 1930, p.138 ; it is, however, more likely that Puškin knew as well R.Southey's ballad "Cornelius Agrippa" (1798), as there was a copy of the Poetical Works by Southey in his library.
  2. Puškin, vol. VII , p.102.
  3. Puškin, vol. VII , p.139.

British humour attracted Puškin's admiration. Britain was for him the fatherland of caricature and parody <sup>1</sup>. In this connection he approved of Scott's own sense of humour, and told a following story : "Walter Scott was shown once some verses supposedly written by himself. 'The verses appear to be mine' he said with a laugh, 'I have been writing for so long and have written so many of them that I dare not repudiate even this nonsense'".

Still, it was the simplicity, the plain domestic manner of Scott's writings that contributed most to the charm of his novels for Puškin <sup>2</sup>. Acquaintance is made with past times "without the 'enflure' of the French tragedies, without the primness of sentimental novels, without the 'dignité' of history, but in a contemporary fashion, in a domestic way ... ce qui nous charme dans le roman historique - c'est que ce qui est historique est absolument ce que nous voyons". Scott, like Shakespeare and Goethe, has no weakness for kings and heroes : " ils sont familiers dans les circonstances ordinaires de la vie, leur parole n'a rien d'affecté, de théâtral meme dans les circonstances solennelles - car les grandes circonstances leur sont familières.- On voit que Walter Scott est de la petite société des rois d'Angleterre".

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1. Puškin , vol. VII , p.147.

2. Puškin , vol. VII , p.535.

Puškin was conscious of the great popularity of Scott's novels in Russia, and he wondered whether to ascribe to this fact the success, so unexpected to himself, of his historical drama "Boris Godunov"<sup>1</sup>. "The works of Walter Scott"<sup>2</sup> also occupied Puškin's mind during his work on "Dubrovskii". While writing his own historical novel "Kapitanskaya dočka", Puškin decided to re-read Walter Scott. "I am reading Walter Scott and the Bible", he wrote to his wife from Boldino<sup>3</sup>. A year and a half before his death, staying in Mihaïlovskoye, Puškin turned again to Scott's novels<sup>4</sup>, and expressed his admiration for them<sup>5</sup>.

Even when judging Russian novels Puškin often used Scott's works as a guide. Success, in his opinion, came to those historical novels that were written in the style of Scott<sup>6</sup>.

Puškin seems to have retained his high opinion of Scott to his very death and, reviewing Gogol's "Večera na hutore bliz Dikan'ki", he praised the beginning of "Taras Bul'ba" as worthy of Walter Scott<sup>7</sup>.

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1. Puškin, vol. X, p.331 : letter to P.A.Pletnev of January 7th, 1831.
  2. Puškin, vol.VII, p.264.
  3. Puškin, vol. X, p.514.
  4. Puškin, vol. X, p.547.
  5. Puškin, vol. X, p.549.
  6. Puškin, vol.VII, p.406.
  7. Puškin, vol.VII, p.346.



All these ideas expressed by Puškin at different times and places seem to be in an astonishing accordance with the conversations which were claimed to have taken place with his friend Smirnova, née Rossetti. The daughter of that lady published what she claimed to be her mother's memoirs <sup>1</sup>. Though the authenticity of these notes was impugned by many Russian authors, their literary historical importance is valued highly by others <sup>2</sup>. Though chronologically muddled and sometimes inconsistent, these notes, if accepted as genuine, are extremely interesting from the point of view of supplementing Puškin's ideas on literature. Walter Scott, in Puškin's opinion, as expressed to Smirnova was an observer who described, and never invented anything <sup>3</sup>. His characters were true and in full agreement with the national spirit. Smirnova claimed to have discussed with Puškin several novels by Walter Scott, including "Rob Roy", "Redgauntlet", "Guy Mannering", "Waverley", "The Heart of Midlothian", and "Woodstock".

As if supplementing his view on British humour, expressed in one of his notes <sup>4</sup>, Puškin was supposed to have made a curious remark about the difference between English and Scottish humour in connection with Scott's works. In his opinion Scottish humour was

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1. A.O.Smirnova, Zapiski, iz zapisnyh knižek 1826-1845, SPB 1895.

2. D.S.Merežkovskiĭ, "A.S.Puškin", in : " Filosovskiye tečeniya v russkoĭ poezii" (ed.P.Percev), SPB 1896, pp.1-96.

3. Compare Hazlitt's opinion that Scott drew his characters from nature instead of creating them out of his imagination, see : E.A.Baker, The History of the English Novel, London 1935, vol.2 , p.217.

4. See above p.79.



drier, and Scott's characters were created with this kind of humour, typical for a Scot.<sup>1</sup>

Another time, Puškin was supposed to have said that he often met "Englishmen" while out walking who told him a lot of things about their country. In that way he had discovered a lot of new things about Scott and others.

As confirmation of Puškin's interest in Scott, expressed in his letters, articles etc., a great number of Scott's works were to be found among Puškin's books. Puškin's library contained Scott's works not only in French but also in the original. In the description of Puškin's library by B.Modzalevskii<sup>2</sup> the following works by Sir Walter Scott are listed : "The Lady of the Lake" (Edinburgh 1810), "Tales of my Landlord"(Paris 1831), the pages of which were cut, but which is unmarked, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel"(London 1811), marked in many places, "The Lord of the Isles"(Edinburgh 1815), no notes, "Rokeby"(Edinburgh 1815), no notes, "Oeuvres Complètes de W.Scott" (1824), vol.I,II,III and V, no notes, "Chants Populaires des Frontières Meridionales<sup>de l'Ecosse</sup>" (Paris 1826), 4 volumes, no notes, "Woodstock ou le Cavalier"(Paris 1826), 4 volumes, no notes, "The Prose Works" (Paris 1827), vol.I, V and VI,

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1. A.O.Smirnova, op.cit., p.168.

2. B.L.Modzalevskii, op.cit.,pp.332 ff.

no notes. These three volumes contain : "Waverley", "Guy Mannering", "The Antiquary", "Rob Roy", "Ivanhoe", "Woodstock", "Memoirs of Swift", "Lives of the Moralists", "Paul's Letters to his kinsfolk", "Goetz of Berlichingen", "Essays"(Chivalry, The Drama, Romance), and "Life of Napoleon".

As stated by B.Modzalevskii himself, the list of the books compiled by him did not correspond fully to the original contents of Puškin's library <sup>1</sup>. Many books were lost, some having been taken away by Puškin's friends or relatives as souvenirs. Many of the books that Puškin without any doubt must have possessed were not to be found when the inventory of his library was made. A supplementary list of the books in Puškin's library was made shortly after his death, but was not found until 1929 <sup>2</sup>. One learns from that list that Puškin possessed also "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" (1803) in 3 volumes in the original.

It is self-evident that the scope of Puškin's reading was much wider than the books of his library. Puškin was by no means contented with his own books ; he borrowed them from all his friends and acquaintances <sup>3</sup>. While in Odessa, Puškin worked in the library of Graf Voroncov, which contained an excellent collection of

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1. B.L.Modzalevskii, op.cit., p. XII.

2. L.Modzalevskii, "Biblioteka Puškina, Novyye materialy", in : "Literaturnoye Nasledstvo", vol.16/18, 1934, p.986.

3. Cf. "Russkii Arhiv", 1866, p.1261.

contemporary books in French and English<sup>1</sup>. While in exile in Mihaïlovskoye he carefully studied the library of his neighbours, the Osipovs, in the village of Trigorskoye<sup>2</sup>. From that point of view it is interesting to learn that the library in Trigorskoye<sup>3</sup> contained : "Der Astrolog" (Leipzig 1822), 3 vol., "Redgauntlet" (Jena 1824), 3 vol., "Oeuvres Complètes de Sir Walter Scott" (Paris 1828), 3 volumes.

From all that has been said about Puškin's knowledge of Scott, one conclusion can be made - not only was the great Scot known and admired by the great Russian, but also studied by him deeply and carefully ; first probably in the French translations, then in the original, Puškin read and re-read again and again the works of the Scottish "Magician", studying his methods, his plots, his characters. The results of these studies are reflected in the works of Russia's greatest poet.

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1. "Puškin i biblioteka"Voroncova", in : "Puškin, Stat'yi i materialy", vol.2., (ed.M.P.Alekseyev), published by "Odesskiĭ Dom Učenyh, Puškinskaya komissiya", Odessa 1926.
  2. Puškin, vol. X , p.161 : letter to Mrs.Osipova of July 29th, 1825.
  3. Described by B.L.Modzalevskiĭ, "Poyezdka v selo Trigorskoye v 1902 godu", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. I, No.1 ,SPB 1906, pp.1-190.

## 2. The Character of Puškin's Assimilations from Scott.

In his "A Novel in Letters", written in 1829, Puškin put into the mouth of his heroine a suggestion about a method of writing a "wonderfully original" novel : - a clever man could take a ready-made plan, ready made characters, rectify the style and the absurdities, make up the omissions - and the result would be a splendid, original novel ... A new pattern should be embroidered on an old canvas ... <sup>1</sup>.

Puškin himself sometimes resorted to the same method of embroidering a new pattern on an old canvas. However, there is always so much of his own "new pattern" that the original is entirely transformed, filled with independent material and meaning, and is often much superior to its previous incarnation. As a rule, his style is always concise, laconic, expressive. Puškin possessed an exceptional gift of recreating, deepening, and giving an entirely different meaning and life to those "old canvases" which he made use of. Like the echo in his poem <sup>2</sup> he repeated everything which made an impression on him :

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.67.

2. Puškin , vol.III , p.227.

"To every sound  
Your answer in the empty air  
Rolls quickly round." <sup>1</sup>

Literary impressions were not an exception. He did not adopt them passively ; they awoke in him a desire for active competition. His genius assimilated these impressions and gave them a new and different life. "I shall outdo Walter Scott", he said once to Naščokin <sup>2</sup>.

Puškin's quality of universality has long been a subject for discussion and investigation. " ... never has there been a poet", Dostoyevskii said, "with such a universal responsiveness as Puškin. But it is not only a matter of susceptibility but also of its amazing depth" <sup>3</sup>. In his responsiveness to everything, Puškin recalled, in the opinion of Professor Veselovskii, Goethe in old age <sup>4</sup>.

The fact that Puškin had an excellent memory, as was witnessed by many of his friends and contemporaries <sup>5</sup>, leads to the conclusion that many of the borrowings from other authors in Puškin's works were conscious. Puškin knew his favourite authors extremely well, and with his excellent memory he could hardly have used Scott's plots and situations simply through forgetfulness. He consciously and in a

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1. Transl. of "Eho" by C.M.Bowra, A Second Book of Russian Verse, London 1948, p.24.

2. S.Gessen and L.Modzalevskii (ed.), Razgovory Puškina, M.1929, p.141 : " ... ya za poyas zatknú Val'tera Skotta".

3. F. Dostoyevski , op.cit., p.978.

4. A. Veselovskii, "A.S.Puškin i yevropeiskaya poeziya", in : "Yubileinyi sbornik pamyati Puškina", SPB 1899, p.127.

5. See e.g. "Puškin v vospominaniyah sovremennikov", L.1950, pp.27, 40, 46 etc.

very selective manner made use of them in the same way as one uses documents or raw materials.

He searched for plots not only in life, in history, and in folk-lore, but also in the books he read. And where else was he to find such a variety of plots as in the works of the "Scottish Magician", who for decades supplied not only Russia but all the Continent with plots and ideas? To make use of another author's plot was quite permissible at that time. Puškin himself largely helped his contemporary authors with suggestions about plots. It is a well known fact that the plots of "The Inspector General" and "Dead Souls" were suggested to Gogol' by Puškin. The only criterion of a work was the results an author was able to achieve with a plot, the "new pattern" he had embroidered on the old canvas. And here Puškin was unsurpassed, his results were unique.

M. Gofman justly remarked in his most interesting study of the psychology of Puškin's creative power that Puškin was too rich to steal anybody's inspiration<sup>1</sup>, but he came to the surprising conclusion that Puškin had written poems that "could have been written by Voltaire, Parny, Deržavin, Žukovskii etc.-- but were not written by them". It is impossible to agree with this conclusion. The works written by Puškin could not have

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1. M.L. Gofman, Puškin, psihologiya tvorčestva, Paris 1928, p.27.

been written by anybody else. There is too much of Puškin's own self in all his writings, the material used becomes unimportant, for it does not remain a heterogeneous element in his works but is transformed by his genius.

The works of Puškin in which the impact of another author can be detected are usually the result of an attempt on Puškin's part to emulate that author. They are entirely new masterpieces created by his genius. Even if an alien material is used, it is harmonized with his own creative powers to such an extent that it acquires a new life, becomes a homogeneous part of an original literary work.

The distinctive elements in such a work are often of greater importance than the elements of similarity, and it is only the relation between these two kinds of elements that can make clear the dimensions and the degree of an author's originality.

Consciously borrowing situations from Scott's plots, making use of his methods, Puškin competed with him and wrote h i s o w n masterpieces. It is like two portraits of the same person painted by two great artists which cannot be alike even if the same technique and methods of painting are used.

Most of the investigations made in this field suffer from the following defect : their authors either want to whitewash Puškin by proving that a genius such as he could not be influenced in any way <sup>1</sup>;

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1. Cf. e.g. I.M.Nusinov, Puškin i mirovaya literatura, M.1941.

or else, like Yakubovič in some of his articles, or more especially Neiman, they go too far in exaggerating Scott's impact on Puškin and the affinity of their writings. Nothing is left to Puškin's own inspiration, everything is inspired by Scott. Almost no attention is paid to the fact that the results are entirely different, that there is nothing in common between the general impression left by reading a work by Puškin and that left by reading a novel by Scott, though Puškin's plot may be borrowed from Scott, and some of Scott's methods used.

The reason for this lies not only in the difference of style but mostly in the difference in character between the two authors' talents. This difference has been excellently expressed by P.Struve <sup>1</sup> : "Walter Scott, he said, was a remarkable observer and describer. Puškin with all his gifts of observation and precision was not at all an observer and describer but a seer". <sup>2</sup>

Puškin's idea of writing a historical novel probably originated from Scott. As mentioned above, it was mainly the plots of Sir Walter Scott that intrigued Puškin, and in a lesser degree his characters.

However, even more important for Puškin's literary development were Scott's methods, his objectivity, his quiet, objective romanticism, in which Puškin saw the elements of realism ( or "real romanticism", as

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1. P.Struve, "Walter Scott and Russia", p. 403.

2. Compare Dostoyevskii, op. cit., p.967 : "Yes, in his (Puškin's) appearance, to all us Russians, there is something indisputably prophetic".



he himself called it), and which encouraged him in the creation of realism in Russian literature. It is typical that the time of his enthusiasm for Scott (and Shakespeare) coincided with his disappointment in Byron.

With his unique insight Puškin saw deep into the works of Scott and discerned in them the realistic elements. His instinct helped him to select the most valuable of them. These realistic traits in Scott's works, modified in a masterly manner and intensified under Puškin's pen laid the foundation of the Russian realistic novel. Puškin applied these methods mainly in his masterpiece in prose "The Captain's Daughter", a work in many ways closely connected with Sir Walter Scott<sup>1</sup>. Like Scott, he resorted to interweaving the historical facts with a family chronicle, lending his work the effect of reality.

Puškin was also attracted by the "homely" method of representing great historical persons, and by their humanity, and he used this method in his own writings. Like Scott, he made use of local colour by carefully studying the customs, speech and character of a particular area or class. To describe an area, "colours of the locality" were necessary, in Puškin's opinion. In scholarly fashion he studied the documents referring to the period he wanted to present. He made journeys in order to make enquiries and interrogations on the spot. Like Scott, he tried to detect the spirit of a nation,

} cp. below p. 99.

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1. See below pp. 106 ff.

which, in his opinion, depended on its climate, its way of life, and its religion. He was fond of Scott's "rudeness" and laughed at the tender ear of the Russian public and critics. Scott's use of dialect was for Puškin another example of the use of local colour. One of the few scholars who recognized the importance of Scott's impact on Puškin was Professor Sipovskiĭ <sup>1</sup>, who was of the opinion that it was through the individualism of Byron and through the objectivity of Scott that Puškin came to lay basis of Russian Realism.

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1. V.V.Sipovskiĭ, "Puškin i romantizm", pp.223-280.

3. A. S. Puškin's Poetry and  
Sir Walter Scott.

While it was for his historical novels that Scott won the high opinion and admiration of Puškin, his poetry also attracted the responsive ear of the Russian poet and found a spirited reply in his poems.

Scott's poetical works were known to Puškin both in the French translations and in the original and most of them were in his library.

One episode from "The Chase" in "The Lady of the Lake" seems to have inspired Puškin to the draft of a poem which was never finished. This is a fragment "Š u m i t k u s t a r n i k" <sup>1</sup>, given in the last Academy Edition of Puškin's works as written in 1830. However, not only the date but also the text of that poem is still a subject of argument (only a rough copy of it exists). Yakubovič <sup>2</sup> attempting to prove a connection between that fragment and "The Lady of the Lake", reads its text differently from the one accepted in the Academy Edition. Nevertheless, it seems that the image of a stag standing on a summit was inspired by the description

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1. Puškin , vol. III , p.212.

2. D.Yakubovič, "Iz zametok o Puškine i Val'ter Skotte", in :  
"Puškin i ego sovremenniki" , vol.38/39, 1930, p.123.

of a stag in "The Lady of the Lake"<sup>1</sup>. Stags occupied an important place in Scott's subjects, and the head of a stag was usually reproduced on the French editions of "The Lady of the Lake". Though a deer occurs now and then in passages of Puškin, mostly in similes, it is only in this fragment that it becomes a central figure. The rustling of shrubbery in Puškin's sketch corresponds to the "heathery couch" from which Scott's "monarch of the waste" sprung hastily. While Scott's noble stag was pausing upon the mountain's southern brow<sup>2</sup>, Puškin's merry deer ran out on a rock and, frightened, looked from the sharp summit at the forest below. The Scottish stag wandered with an anxious eye over "mountains and meadow, moss and moor", he "toss'd his beam'd frontlet to the sky", "a moment gazed adown the dale" - while his Russian brother looked at the light meadows, at the blue vault of the sky, and at the Dnieper's shores. Scott made his animal snuff "the tainted gale", but Puškin's stag twitched "his sensitive ear"...

D.Yakubovič stressed the fact that the "motionlessness" of the stag in both poems was achieved by a repetition of the first word in the line :

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1. Sir Walter Scott, The Poetical Works, London 1906 , p.133.

2. "... where broad extended, far beneath  
The varied realms of fair Menteith..."

"A moment gazed adown the dale,  
A moment snuff'd the tainted gale,  
A moment listen'd to the cry..."

And in Puškin's poem :

"He looks at the light meadows,  
He looks at the blue vault of the sky  
He looks at the depth, at the shores ...." <sup>1</sup>

This repetition is, however, reduced in the version accepted by  
the Academy Edition <sup>2</sup> :

"He looks at the light meadows,  
He looks at the blue vault of the sky  
And at the Dnieper's shores".

Scott's stag hearing the approaching chase :

"With one brave bound the copse he clear'd  
And stretching forward free and far  
Sought the wild heath of Uam-Var."

Puškin's stag reacts quickly : " he shuddered ; a sudden sound  
reached him ; he stretched his neck, frightened, and disappeared  
from the summit.

This resemblance of the basic elements in the two pictures is  
too apparent to be a mere coincidence. The Russian stag, though

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Iz zametok o Puškine i Val'ter Skotte", p.123.

2. Puškin, vol. III , p.212.

more dynamic than his prototype, is obviously of Scottish descent, and the shores of the river Dnieper do not seem to be a very appropriate place for it.

It is a widely known fact that Puškin's poem "V o r o n k v o r o n u l e t i t"<sup>1</sup>, written in or about 1828, is of Scottish origin. This fact was stressed by the poet himself, who in the 1829 edition of his verses called this poem "A Scottish Song". However, the real source of this poem remained uncertain for a long time. Belinskiĭ was probably the first to speak (in 1844) about a paraphrase, in the Russian manner, of a ballad by Walter Scott. This statement found no response in Russian literary criticism, and was not repeated by anybody else. Different Russian scholars sought for various sources of this ballad<sup>2</sup>, completely overlooking the fact that it was contained in "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" (1803). Only in the 20th century was this established by Russian investigators<sup>3</sup>. But even then there existed some confusion

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1. Puškin, vol. III, p.76.

2. Among those sources Child's edition of English and Scottish ballads was mentioned (it appeared for the first time in 1857), so that Puškin was supposed to borrow his poem from an author who was 3 years old at that time. Cf. N.F.Sumcov, "Issledovaniya o poezii Puškina", in: "Har'kovskiiĭ universitetskiiĭ sbornik v pamyat' A.S.Puškina", Har'kov 1900, p.259.

3. Y.Oksman, "Syuzety Puškina", in: "Puškinskiiĭ sbornik pamyati Prof.S.A.Vengerova" (ed.N.V.Yakovlev), M.-P.1922, pp.29-30, and P.Struve, "Walter Scott and Russia", p.400.

about the real author of the ballad, and Yakubovič ascribed the ballad to Scott's original works <sup>1</sup>.

Both Oksman and P.Struve, as well as Simmons <sup>2</sup>, came to the conclusion that it was the French translation of "The Twa Corbies" by Artaud which was used by Puškin, and based this statement mainly on the fact that Puškin's library contained a French edition of the Minstrelsy, but not the original. The fact that an official list of Puškin's books, compiled after his death, was found in 1929 seems to have been unknown to these authors, as well as the fact that among the books possessed by Puškin there was also the original of "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" (edition 1803) in 3 volumes <sup>3</sup>. The third volume of this edition contains "The Twa Corbies". The commentaries of the Academy Edition of Puškin's works mention also the French translation (1826) of Scott's ballads, as a source of the "Šotlandskaya Pesnya" <sup>4</sup>.

There is, however, no real reason for such a statement, since the new discoveries of the contents of Puškin's library have shown that there was a copy of "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" in English in his possession. It is generally accepted that "Voron k

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1. "Putevoditel' po Puškinu", a supplement to the magazine "Krasnaya Niva", 1930, p.332.
  2. Simmons, op. cit., p.245.
  3. L.Modzalevskiĭ, op. cit., p.1018.
  4. Puškin, vol. III, p.490.

voronu letit" was written in 1828, and it is an indisputable fact that Puškin knew English well at that time, and naturally would consult the original <sup>1</sup>. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the fact that Puškin has translated the "mate" <sup>2</sup> of the original by "milyĩ" <sup>3</sup>, which is nearer in its meaning to "mate" than the expression "serviteur" used in the French translation by Artaud <sup>4</sup>.

Following Scott's method of using "couleur locale" Puškin included in his poem the colourful elements of Russian folk-lore. He placed his "bogatyr'" in the open country under the willow tree <sup>5</sup>, a traditional feature of the landscape in Russian folk-lore. The unfaithful dog in the Scottish original - unfamiliar to the Russian epics - was replaced by Puškin with a black mare, so common in the Russian "byliny". The metre of the poem, the four-foot trochee, is also very common in the Russian folk-epics.

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1. See above pp.71-72.

2. "... one of a wedded pair, a husband or wife. Also (rarely) a lover". Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary, vol. VI, Oxford 1933, p.(M) 228.

3 "No hozyaika ždet milogo  
Ne ubitogo, živogo ...",  
i.e.: " but the lady is waiting for her beloved, not the killed one, but the living one". "Milyĩ (as a noun) - a beloved". Cf. Prof.D.N.Ušakov (ed.), Tolkovyĩ slovar' russkogo yazyka, M.1938, vol. II, p.215.

4. Even in one of the "minor" meanings given by the Dictionnaire de la langue Française (Librairie Hachette), Paris 1874, vol.4, p.1924: "Serviteur - celui qui courtise une femme" it is far from being an equivalent to "mate". "Serviteur" in this particular meaning, however, is not mentioned in the Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, Paris 1935, vol.II, p.584.

5. Puškin, vol.III, p.76: "V čistom pole pod rakitoĩ  
Bogatyr' ležit ubityĩ."



Puškin's characteristic terseness, his economy of expression is evident in his version. He has speeded up the poem ; while the tempo of the original is quiet, leisurely, - Puškin's poem is quick, dynamic. He not only shortened the original, completely omitting the two last stanzas, but expressed the plot laconically in a staccato tempo with short abrupt sentences, thus wakening in the reader a feeling of disquiet and restlessness. As a result, he achieved a Scottish plot told in a Russian way, a typical approach for Puškin, who assimilated and made his own all foreign elements in which he became interested, and did not blindly follow any pattern but competed with the original, recreating it completely in his own manner.

It is interesting to note that the same subject of "The Twa Corbies" has been treated in Russia by other authors - by an anonymous author <sup>1</sup>, by A.Rotčev <sup>2</sup>, and, later, by M.Y.Lermontov <sup>3</sup>. In the first two versions the part of the Scottish original, left untouched by Puškin, was translated ; in their expressions, however, the influence of Puškin's poem is evident.

Sumcov <sup>4</sup> suspected that the final part of "The Twa Corbies" <sup>5</sup>

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1. "Galateya", vol.XII, 1830, No.10 , p.193.

2. "Moskovskii Telegraf", 1830, No.8, p.441.

3. See below p. 206.

4. N.F.Sumcov, op. cit., p.261.

5. "O'er his white banes, when they are bare,  
The wind sall blaw for evermair".

was reflected in another poem by Puškin, his "P e s n' o v e š č e m O l e g e"<sup>1</sup> (written in 1822), in the passage where Puškin speaks of the "noble bones". Even if Puškin knew "The Twa Corbies" as early as 1822 the relationship between the two poems seems to be too remote for there to be any certainty about any borrowing. It is more likely to be a coincidence : while the Scottish poem refers to the white bones of a man, Puškin calls the bones of a horse "noble", and both poems mention the wind.

It was probably Scott's ability to detect and depict "local colour", so much admired by Puškin, that led the latter to introduce a similar element into "K a v k a z s k i ĭ P l e n n i k", a poem written in 1820/22. In order to describe an area it was necessary to acquire, Puškin thought, the "colours of the locality". Anyhow, soon after he had finished his poem, Puškin wrote to Gnedić<sup>2</sup> about the wonderful local descriptions in Scott's works. Otherwise this poem is nearer to Byron, admired by Puškin at that time, than it is to Scott.

Certain reminiscences of Scott's "The Fair Maid of Perth" and "Rob Roy" can be traced in Puškin's fragmentary poem "T a z i t", written in 1829/30, or, as it is often called - "Galub"<sup>3</sup>. While

repetition  
cf. above  
p. 90

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1. Puškin , vol. II , pp.102-105.
  2. Puškin , vol. X , pp.647-648.
  3. Puškin , vol. IV, pp.309-320.

both Scott's novels take place in the Highlands, "Tazit" is one of Puškin's Caucasian poems. Both Scott's Conochar and Puškin's Tazit are tragic characters, the up-bringing of both was entrusted by their parents to strangers, both prove to be failures.

The scene of Tazit's father cursing him for not having revenged the death of his brother reminds one of a similar scene in "Rob Roy", where Helen MacGregor cursed her sons for having allowed their father to be taken captive <sup>1</sup>.

It can be assumed that Sir Walter Scott was one of Puškin's sources of information about chivalry and its customs. "Ivanhoe", "The Talisman", and other works were doubtless useful in this respect, and it is significant that the pages of Puškin's copy of Scott's "Essay on Chivalry" were all cut <sup>2</sup>. Scott described there inter alia the cult of the Virgin, which, in his opinion, sometimes verged upon a romantic love. "Tournaments were undertaken, and feuds of arms performed in her honour, as in that of an earthly mistress, and the veneration with which she was regarded seems occasionally to have partaken of the character of romantic affection" <sup>3</sup>. A similar problem was treated by Puškin in his "Legenda" ( "Žil na svete rycar' bednyĭ ...") <sup>4</sup>, written in 1829, which in a modified

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1. "Rob Roy", vol.II, pp.206-207.

2. D.Yakubovič, "Puškinskaya Legenda o rycare bednom", in : "Zapadnyĭ sbornik" (ed.V.M.Žirmunskiĭ), M.-L.1937, p.234.

3. Sir Walter Scott, Essays, Paris 1828, vol. I , pp.20-21.

4. Puškin , vol. III, p.114.

version, later constituted one of the "Minstrel's" songs in "Sceny iz rycarskih vremen"<sup>1</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Franc's second song is an adaptation of the Scottish ballad "Hame came our Goodman"<sup>2</sup>.

The opinion that "Legend a" was inspired by "The Romance of Dunois" in Scott's translation from the French was expressed by D.Yakubovič<sup>3</sup> and it was pointed out by him that both poems began in the epic manner. It seems, however, that the connection between "The Romance of Dunois" and "Legenda" can be reduced to the fact that "The Romance" stimulated Puškin's interest in knighthood and its customs<sup>4</sup>. "The Romance of Dunois" twice made its appearance in Russian literature. It was translated by Prince N.Golicyn as early as 1814, and later by A.Rotčev, the author of a translation of "The Twa Corbies".

Of Puškin's long poems only "P o l t a v a" (1828) has

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1. Puškin, vol. V, pp.481-482.

2. See below p. 256-259.

3. D.Yakubovič, "Puškinskaya 'legenda' o rycare bednom", p.232.

4. The question of a connection between the "Legenda" and Scott's "The House of Aspen", raised in Russian critical literature, has been decided in a negative sense by D.Yakubovič in his "Tragediya Val'ter Skotta 'Dom Aspenov' i Puškinskiĭ Romans o rycare bednom" (in: "Sbornik stateĭ posvyasčennyh akademiku A.S.Orlovu", L.1934, pp.449-458), quoted from: Puškin, vol.VII (ed.D.Yakubovič): Dramatičeskiye proizvedeniya, L.1935, p.497. One can only agree with this opinion.

any points of resemblance to the works of Sir Walter Scott. While Byron's "Mazeppa" probably determined the choice of the subject <sup>1</sup>, the setting of "Poltava" recalls that of "Marmion". In both works a lyrical poem is combined with a heroic epos, set against the background of an important historical development, "while great events were on the gale". A decisive battle is fought and described in both poems, and the destinies of the heroes are closely connected with important historical events.

A certain likeness in the characters of Mazepa and Lord Marmion was noticed by V.M.Žirmunskii <sup>2</sup> : both proud, fond of power, both seducers of beautiful young women. While Constance fled from a convent and followed Lord Marmion, Maria left her parents' house to follow her aged lover. This parallel goes further : both heroes are strong but false characters. While Marmion forges a letter, Mazepa deceives the Tsar. But here the likeness ends.

In both poems the narrative element is often interrupted by lyrical descriptions. Some distant parallels can be found in these. The scene of the nocturnal flight on horseback <sup>3</sup> in "Poltava" is vaguely reminiscent of Marmion's flight. But more important seems to be Puškin's manner of representing great historical characters (Peter, Karl, Mazepa) in a simple way, like ordinary human beings -

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1. Puškin wanted at first to call his poem "Mazepa".

2. V.M.Žirmunskii, op. cit., p.176.

3. Puškin, vol. IV, p.264.

a manner so much admired by him in Sir Walter Scott.

With "Poltava" the survey of the connection between Puškin's poetry and Scott's works comes to an end. The impact of Sir Walter Scott upon Puškin's prose works is of a far greater importance.

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4. A. S. Pu š k i n' s P r o s e a n d  
S i r W a l t e r S c o t t .

A. H i s t o r i c a l N o v e l s

("Arap Petra Velikogo", and "Kapitanskaya dočka").

"The age inclines one to grim prose", wrote Puškin in 1826<sup>1</sup>, and in the next year he turned to writing a novel. It was quite natural that at that period of the pre-eminence of the historical novel Puškin too should try his hand at this literary genre. His ambition to present one of his ancestors in literary form made his choice fall on the period of Peter the Great. Puškin was also attracted by the person of the great Tsar, and in presenting him as a loving and solicitous godfather, he must have seized what seemed an opportunity to apply the method used by Sir Walter Scott in portraying royalty as ordinary human beings. This feature was in the eyes of Puškin one of Scott's greatest merits, and to whom else could it be more appropriately applied than to the Tsar who himself used to work in the dockyards in order to master the art of shipbuilding? For one reason or another, this first attempt of Puškin to write in prose disappointed him, and his historical

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1. Puškin , vol. V , p.137.

novel "A r a p P e t r a V e l i k o g o" ("The Negro of Peter the Great"), written in 1827, was left unfinished. A year later, Puškin returned to the person of Peter the Great, and presented him in his historical poem "Poltava".

As has been mentioned, Puškin made use of Scott's methods in his fragment "Arap Petra Velikogo". His portrait of Peter lacks any solemnity, any primness ; the great Tsar is presented in as homely a way as possible. As in Scott's novels, the chief hero is an ordinary man, famous , in fact, only because he was Puškin's ancestor.

Like Scott, Puškin applies "local colour" to his novel, which is especially vivid in the descriptions of an "assembly", and a dinner in the house of the nobleman ("boyarin") Rževskiĭ. It is interesting that these two scenes must have been considered by Puškin the most satisfactory, since they were the only ones of the whole fragment to be published during his lifetime, under the titles : "An Assembly at the Time of Peter I ", and "A Dinner in the House of a Russian Nobleman".

By his use of local colour Puškin succeeds in picturing the way of life of the people, and in rendering the spirit of the period, - the essential features of Scott's novels. Like Scott, he places epigraphs at the beginning of each chapter. Unlike Scott, however, he attaches more importance to the love affair, as far as it is possible to judge from the fragment.

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The same methods of Scott, used by Puškin in his first attempt at writing a historical novel, but amplified and brought to perfection, found their place in one of his masterpieces - a historical novel, written in 1834-1836, "K a p i t a n s k a y a d o č k a" ("The Captain's Daughter"). It is interesting to note that historical novels were not the only outlet for Puškin's interest in history, and he worked at the same time on academic historical works. He intended to write a history of the French Revolution (1831), he made notes on the history of the Ukraine (1831), and the history of Russia (1831) ; he wrote a work on the History of the Pugachev rebellion (1833) - the period chosen by him for the setting of "The Captain's Daughter" ; he made preparations for writing a history of Peter the Great (1834-1835). A simultaneous interest in the literary and the academic side of history occurs in the career of Sir Walter Scott also. In the case of Puškin, as in that of Scott, the writing of their fictional works was preceded by a serious and intensive study of historical facts, documents, and various other sources. Puškin saw the aim of a historical work as the "resurrecting of a past age in all its truth"<sup>1</sup>, and went so far as to visit the places he wanted to describe in his works, in order to talk to witnesses of the period. "I also had an opportunity", he wrote in the preface to the " History of

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1. Puškin , vol. VII , p.218.

Pugačev" (in earlier editions : " History of the Pugačev rebellion), "to use certain manuscripts, legends, and the testimony of living people " <sup>1</sup>. Compare Sir Walter Scott : ".I have been enabled to qualify the narratives of Old Mortality and Cameronian friends, by the reports of more than one descendant of ancient and honorable families ; ... more than one nonjuring bishop ... have deigned ... to furnish me with information corrective of the facts which I learned from others." <sup>2</sup> An antiquarian mind and a scholarly approach to history were common to both authors, and hence it was natural for Puškin to seek guidance in the works of Sir Walter Scott.

The historical novel "Kapitanskaya dočka" was the only work by Puškin in which the connection with Scott was soon noticed by the critics. The importance and the nature of Scott's impact is, however, still a matter of argument.

In his search for new ways for his muse, in his search for a "real romanticism", which we would call nowadays "realism", Puškin turned to Scott's "objective" presentations. By condensing and refining this method, he succeeded in creating a new type of historical novel written in a realistic manner. Unlike the minor authors, he perceived the depth of Scott's talent, and emphasized what he regarded as the essentials in it. While ignoring the

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1. Puškin , vol. VIII , p.145.

2. "Old Mortality", vol. I , p.15.

"unnecessary trifles", he admired the "life" in Scott's works <sup>1</sup>.

It was chiefly the realistic "Scottish" novels of Sir Walter Scott that left traces in Puškin's works, and not his romantic "Mediaeval" novels like "Ivanhoe". It was the sober, unaffected approach in the presentation of the past that Puškin admired in Scott, and which became typical of his own works, in contrast to those of the minor Russian authors, for whom a novel in the style of Scott consisted mainly in detailed descriptions of costumes and customs, and in an idealization of times past. The general reader was unable to understand the literary value of "Kapitanskaya dočka", and its success was humble in comparison with the noise raised by a poor imitation of Sir Walter Scott, Zagoskin's "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii". It may be that a somewhat belated echo of this cool reception of Puškin's work in Russia is the explanation of the following opinion expressed in an English periodical : " Puškin in his 3 novels 'Peter the Great's Arab', 'The Captain's Daughter' and 'The History of the Pugačev Conspiracy' <sup>2</sup> imitated without much success the form and manner of Scott" <sup>3</sup>.

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1. See above p.78.

2. "The History of the Pugačev Conspiracy" is not a novel but a work of historical research.

3. Marr Murray, "Some English influences on Russian literature", in : "The Russian Review", vol. II , London 1913, p.161.

On the question of Puškin in English Criticism see G.Struve, "Pushkin in Early English Criticism"

In July 1833 Puškin spoke of his intention to write a novel the action of which would take place in Orenburg and Kazan'.<sup>1</sup> "I am reading Walter Scott and the Bible", Puškin wrote to his wife in September 1834<sup>2</sup>; "I borrowed from them (the Vrevskiĭ's) Walter-Scott, and am re-reading him. I regret that I have not taken the English version with me"<sup>3</sup>. In his next letter he repeated: "I am reading Walter Scott's novels, which delight me"<sup>4</sup>. Several days later he informed his wife that he had started to write<sup>5</sup>.

Independently of whether we accept the statement of Galahov<sup>6</sup> that Puškin "imitated" Scott in his "Kapitanskaya dočka", or the statement of Černyayev<sup>7</sup> that Puškin "continued" the work of Sir Walter Scott, or the correction of Gofman<sup>8</sup> that Scott produced an impetus on Puškin's strength which until then was slumbering within him, or, finally, the conclusion of Yakubovič<sup>9</sup> that

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1. Puškin, vol. X, pp.435-436.

2. Puškin, vol. X, p.514.

3. Puškin, vol. X, p.547.

4. Puškin, vol. X, p.549.

5. Puškin, vol. X, p.551.

6. A.D.Galahov, "O podražatel'nosti naših pervoklasnyh poetov", in: "Russkaya starina", vol.57, SPB 1888, pp.27 ff.

7. N.I.Černyayev, Kapitanskaya dočka Puškina, Istoriko-kritičeskii etyud, M.1897, p.45.

8. M.Gofman, "Kapitanskaya dočka", in: Puškin (Venegerov), vol.IV, p.355.

9. D.Yakubovič, "Kapitanskaya dočka i romany Val'ter Skotta", in: "Puškin, Vremennik Puškinskoĭ komissii", vol. 4/5, M.1939, p.197.

"Kapitanskaya dočka" was "fed" by Scott's novels, - one fact is indisputable - that the role of Scott in this work of Puškin was most important and impressive. Belinskiĭ was the first to call Savel'yič "the Russian Caleb". Galahov noticed that the scene of the meeting of Mar'ya Ivanovna with the Empress was an "imitation" of Scott. Černyševskiĭ<sup>1</sup> pointed out that "Kapitanskaya dočka" originated from Scott's works. Černyayev admitted<sup>1</sup> that Puškin continued the work of Scott. However, the role of Sir Walter Scott in "Kapitanskaya dočka" consisted, in Černyayev's opinion, only in suggesting to Puškin the idea of presenting the Russian past in an artistic manner and graphic scenes. He admitted that the epigraphs placed at the beginning of each chapter reminded him of Scott's manner and said that "Kapitanskaya dočka" was nearest to "Rob Roy" among Scott's novels. Prof.A.Veselovskiĭ<sup>3</sup> was of the opinion that Sir Walter Scott had strengthened Puškin in his intentions to write in prose. The traces of Scott in Puškin's works, he thought, consisted not only in the assimilation of details but also in the general trend of the poet. Veselovskiĭ, however, did not go further than this statement and did not illustrate it.

M.Gofman pointed out<sup>4</sup> several details in the plots and characters which "Kapitanskaya dočka" had in common with "The

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1. N.Černyševskiĭ, Očerki Gogolevskogo perioda russkoĭ literatury, SPB 1892, p.19.

2. N.I.Černyayev, op.cit., pp.45-46.

3. A.Veselovskiĭ, "Puškin i yevropeĭskaya poeziya", p.127.

4. M.Gofman, "Kapitanskaya dočka", pp.353-378.

Heart of Midlothian", and came to the conclusion that Sir Walter Scott had strengthened Puškin in his inclination to present the simple way of life, the simple traditions of a Russian family. B. Neiman<sup>1</sup> tried to prove the general formal dependence of "Kapitanskaya dočka" on Scott's novels. In his opinion, the whole structure of Puškin's novel is derived from Sir Walter Scott. However, he approaches this problem from a deliberately mechanical angle, basing his opinion on the common schema of all Scott's novels as worked out by a German scholar, Dibelius<sup>2</sup>. He sees a likeness between "Kapitanskaya dočka" and the novels of Scott in the skeleton of the plot : a travelling hero, a feast where the hero meets his beloved, love set against the background of troubles, a rival who puts obstacles in the way of this love, a duel, the heroine nursing the hero, the head of the rebels revealing his plans to the hero, the hero in prison.

No doubt, all these elements, frequently used in the plots of Sir Walter Scott, were reflected in "The Captain's Daughter". It should not, however, be ignored, as was done by Neiman, that many of them were common to the traditions of the picaresque novel as well, and that therefore their presence alone is not sufficient to establish the derivation of Puškin's novel from

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1. B.V. Neiman, "Kapitanskaya dočka Puškina i romany Val'ter Skotta", in : "Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk SSSR", vol. 101 , No.3, pp.440-443.
  2. Prof.W. Dibelius, Englische Romankunst, Die Technik der englischen Romane im achtzehnten und zu Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1910, vol. II .

Scott. They can supplement and illustrate one's opinion about the importance of Scott's impact on Puškin, but in isolation they are not sufficient to enable one to judge the character and the depth of the connection between these two authors.

Another similarity between "Kapitanskaya dočka" and Scott's novels, thought Neĭman, was to be found in the characters. Here again, following Dibelius, he categorized Scott's characters and applied the result to Puškin's novel. A non-historical hero, a rival, a strict father, a good-natured simpleton, a comic servant were, in his opinion, common to both authors. The use of local colour, however, thought Neĭman, was not important in "The Captain's Daughter", since Puškin's "descriptions of houses, interiors, costumes and persons" were more concentrated and less antiquarian than those of the author of "Ivanhoe". Thus Neĭman reduced the meaning of local colour to the trivial conception of it held by the minor Russian authors. Puškin, however, probably considering these detailed descriptions as "unnecessary trifles", such as he criticized in the works of Scott's imitators, applied "local colour" to the presentation of the real spirit of the period in order to "resurrect the past age in all its truth".

Neĭman's article has been criticized by A.Beleckiĭ<sup>1</sup> who finds that the elements of the schema adopted by Neĭman are of varying

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1. A.Beleckiĭ, "K istorii sozdaniya Kapitanskoĭ dočki", in :

"Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol.38/39, L.1930, pp.198-199.



importance, and comes to the conclusion that with regard to the main element of the schema - "love set against a background of troubles" - Puškin could not have learnt anything from Scott, since he did not present in his novel troubles of a dynastic, religious, or national character, the kind of troubles usual in Scott's novels, but a rebellion of slaves against their masters. In his opinion, the social idea was the dominating theme in Puškin, and in presenting it he sought for guidance not so much from Sir Walter Scott as from Victor Hugo.

It is impossible to agree with this point of view.

Puškin wanted to present the rebellion realistically, and it was in Scott that he found support for the use of this method. It is of no importance that this rebellion was of a different character to those described in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, since it was the methods that interested Puškin. Besides, it is difficult to believe that Puškin would have turned for guidance to an author who ranked far lower than Scott in his estimation<sup>1</sup>, and who himself was one of Scott's disciples.

Some points of similarity between the plots of "Kapitanskaya dočka", and "Waverley", "Rob Roy" and "Old Mortality" ("Šotlandskiye Puritane") were stressed by Žirmunskii<sup>2</sup> who came to the conclusion

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1. Puškin , vol. VII ,pp.497-498.

2. V.M.Žirmunskii, "Puškin i zapadnyye literatury", in : " Puškin, Vremennik Puškinskoj komissii 1837-1937", M.-L.1937 , p.85.



that the works of Sir Walter Scott were for Puškin models of a realistic novel with a social theme.

The most detailed study of the relation between "Kapitanskaya dočka" and Scott's novels was made by Yakubovič<sup>1</sup> who found in it many parallels with Scott's novels but came to the tendentious conclusion that the origin of this connection lay in Puškin's desire to express an idea which otherwise he would not have been allowed to bring out either as a historian, or as a writer of any other form of fiction<sup>2</sup>. This idea was, in the opinion of Yakubovič, Puškin's sympathy with the Pugačev rebellion.

It is impossible to agree with this opinion. Puškin approaches Pugačev not with sympathy but with the typical detachment of an impartial historian and a talented author. He portrays Pugačev as a rebel and a cruel brigand, yet at the same time he reveals the human side of his character not so much out of sympathy as out of artistic taste and historical intuition. Like Scott, Puškin wanted to be in the first place an objective describer of the past, leaving aside all the prejudices of his class ; he wanted "to resurrect the past age in all its truth" without expressing any sympathy with or antipathy to Pugačev's rebellion. Just like Scott, he

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Kapitanskaya dočka i romany Val'ter Skotta", pp.165-197.

2. Ibid., p.196

wanted "to do justice to the merits of both parties"<sup>1</sup>. The honourable outlaw had long interested Puškin as a type, and he had already depicted the type in "Dubrovskii". Pugačev presented him with a splendid opportunity of portraying this type again, this time in the form of a historical person. Therefore one cannot agree with Yakubovič that Scott was only the means for Puškin to express his political idea. Since Puškin never intended to express such an idea as Yakubovič ascribed to him, he could not turn to Scott for that particular purpose. In presenting his Pugačev as a real, live person, and not a conventional unreal monster, in presenting objectively the Pugačev rebellion, he turned to Scott in order to apply the latter's methods of realistic narrative. It is interesting that the famous Russian historian, Professor Klyučevskii, found that there was more historical truth in "Kapitanskaya dočka" than there was in "The History of the Pugačev rebellion", which in his opinion reads rather like explanatory notes to the novel<sup>2</sup>.

Proceeding to an analysis of Scott's impact on "Kapitanskaya dočka" one finds that it was threefold. Puškin learnt a lot from Scott's methods; he assimilated a variety of situations from Scott's plots, and in a lesser degree his types. In fact, one finds almost

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1. "Old Mortality", vol. I, p.15.

2. V.O.Klyučevskii, Očerki i reči, P.1918, p.59.

See also M.Karpovich, "Pushkin as an historian", in: "Centennial Essays for Pushkin" (ed.S.H.Cross and E.J.Simmons), (Harvard University Press) Cambridge 1937.

all Scott's methods applied by Puškin in "Kapitanskaya dočka" ; some of them in an amplified, some in a reduced form. Puškin learnt a lot from Scott's manner but he applied it in accordance with his own outstanding artistic sense.

Scott's method of realistic presentation was the most important part of his impact on Puškin, and, through Puškin, on Russian literature as a whole. Puškin strengthened this feature of Scott's manner, developed it further, and thus laid a foundation of literary realism in Russia. The romantic element of Scott's novels, however, left him almost untouched.

The realistic effect in Scott's novels was partly achieved by the interweaving of historical facts with a family chronicle (e.g. "Waverley", "Rob Roy", "Old Mortality"). Puškin applies the same method, in an even more concentrated way. "Kapitanskaya dočka" is presented as "family notes"<sup>1</sup>, and the private plot is closely connected with historical events ; it is, in fact, completely dependent on them. The choice of an unimportant average man for a hero helped also towards a realistic presentation. Here again Puškin goes further than Sir Walter Scott ; - his Grinev (who is, in fact, the main hero of the novel) is not only unimportant, he is quite trivial, and the same can be said of the heroine. Grinev,

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.490 : " I shall not describe the siege of Orenburg which belongs to History and not to the Family notes".

as in many Scott's works, is not even the official hero of the novel - as the title suggests. In this respect a parallel with Scott's "The Surgeon's Daughter" is of particular interest. Though both titles are alike, this similarity seems to have passed unnoticed by Puškin's scholars. "The Surgeon's Daughter" was, in its first editions, a part of "Chronicles of the Cannongate". It was not among the books in Puškin's library as described by Modzalevskii, but this is no reason to assume that Puškin had not read the work<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, in both novels, Scott's and Puškin's, the real hero of the novel is not the person suggested in the title.

The simple "domestic" manner of Sir Walter Scott, so much admired by Puškin, in his presentation of historical persons was nothing more than another means to achieve a realistic rendering. The traditional manner of affected, pompous, unreal presentation was broken, and the common humanity of the historical persons emphasized. "Ils sont familiers dans les circonstances ordinaires de la vie, leur parole n'a rien d'affecté, de théâtral même dans les circonstances solennelles - car les grandes circonstances leur sont familières", said Puškin of Scott's kings and heroes. Thus Catherine II appears without the "dignité of history"<sup>2</sup>, she is not only simply dressed but she has the same feelings and qualities of character as an ordinary woman. This feature of Scott was

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1. A Russian translation of "The Surgeon's Daughter" appeared in 1830.

2. See above p.79.

applied by Puškin in his portrayal of Pugačev. What Yakubovič wanted to explain as a political idea (Puškin's sympathy with Pugačev) was, in fact, the application of Scott's realistic method in a more condensed form. Pugačev, though not a king but an impostor, yet still an important historical person, was easy to portray in a simple manner, since he himself was a simple, uneducated man. But this was not sufficient for Puškin. He had to render him realistically, not as a monster, but as a real human being with all his bad and good qualities. Though a cruel rebel, who had ruined thousands of lives, Pugačev does not forget the good accidentally done to him by Grinev. Emphasizing this, Puškin not only paints a realistic portrait of Pugačev but also features a quality typical of the Russian peasant, thus stressing the national character of his narrative. Not in vain does there exist a saying in Russian : "<sup>five</sup> A good turn deserves another" <sup>1</sup>. Cruel as a Russian can be, especially when intoxicated with an idée fixe, he seldom forgets his benefactors.

Like Scott, Puškin uses dialogue which is expressive and colourful, and makes the novel vivid, creating an effect of reality. The parabolic conversation of the guide with the inn-keeper is reminiscent of the "thieves' Latin" in "The Heart of Midlothian" and other Scott's novels.

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1. "Dolg platežom krasen". It is interesting that this saying was put by Puškin into the mouth of Pugačev. Cf. Puškin , vol. VI , p.503.

The objectivity of Scott's historical descriptions was also seized upon by Puškin. Like Scott, Puškin places the action of his novel in a time of internal trouble, and, like Scott, he is most impartial in his presentation. It may be a mere coincidence but it is interesting to note that the time of Pugačev's rebellion (1773-1775) preceded the time of Puškin's work (1834-1836) by about 60 years, that is , the exact period mentioned in the subtitle of "Waverley" ("Tis Sixty Years Since"). The choice of a comparatively near period gave Puškin an opportunity not only of examining all the available documents but also of meeting the few remaining witnesses of the period he intended to describe, thus approaching the historical problems involved with the carefulness of a true scholar.

Scott's method of inventing a fictitious editor is also used by Puškin in the epilogue and in one of the drafts of an introduction to the novel<sup>1</sup>: "The Captain's Daughter" is presented as a manuscript, like many of Scott's novels. Yakubovič found some parallels between the texts of this epilogue and the planned introduction on the one hand, and "Rob Roy" on the other<sup>2</sup>. Both have an idea in common : the realism of the narrative is emphasized by a manuscript containing "a true account" of the young man's delusions, pranks,

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.733.

2. D.Yakubovič, "Kapitanskaya dočka...", pp.171-172.

and the nobility of his character (compare : " of my thoughts and feelings, of my virtues and of my failings" <sup>1</sup>).

Thanks to Puškin's clear and deep insight into the right use of local colour (reduced by Scott's Russian imitators to trivial descriptions) this element received a deeper and wider significance at his hands. He gives an excellent picture of a faithful domestic serf and of the way of life of the common Russian people, fully succeeding in transmitting the spirit of the period. Russian customs are presented in an indirect, discreet way. Local colour is applied also to the descriptions of nature. In order to describe the snowstorm Puškin seeks accounts of snowstorms in special studies, like "The Topography of the Orenburg district", and in the letters of persons who had witnessed a snow-storm in that district. The popular language used in conversations and the tale told by Pugačev also helps to create a sense of locality in his work.

An introduction, an essential part of the novels of Scott, was also planned by Puškin. In fact, there are two drafts of an introduction to "Kapitanskaya dočka" which for some reason was omitted by Puškin, and his novel appeared without an introduction at all. One of the drafts was ascribed to an invented author ; the second was written with the intention of giving an explanation of the origin of the plot. "An anecdote, on which this novel is

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1. "Rob Roy", vol. I , p.2.



based, is known in the district of Orenburg ... There was printed several years ago in one of our almanacs"...<sup>1</sup>. This sentence is not finished. It seems that Puškin's intention was to explain a likeness between the plot and a "Story of my Grandmother" by A.K., published in "Nevskii Al'manah" in 1832<sup>2</sup>.

Finally Scott's method of placing epigraphs at the head of each chapter was also used by Puškin. "We decided", writes Puškin's fictitious editor<sup>3</sup>: "to publish it (the manuscript) separately, with a suitable epigraph for every chapter". As in the novels of Scott, these epigraphs are taken not only from literary sources, but are often from folk-songs or proverbs. By such choices the local colour and the national character of the novel are emphasized<sup>4</sup>.

Like Scott, Puškin sometimes uses songs to break the narrative. Thus, in order to strengthen the effect he makes the rebels-themselves "the people doomed to the gallows" - sing a popular song about the gallows<sup>5</sup>.

Like Scott, Puškin does not content himself with an epigraph at the head of each chapter but gives his chapters in "Kapitanskaya dočka" short, straightforward titles. Some of these titles are

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.734.

2. V.G.Gulyayev, "K voprosu ob istočnikah Kapitanskoï dočki", in :  
"Puškin, Vremennik Puškinskoï komissii", vol. 4/5, M.1939 , pp.198-211.

3. Puškin , vol. VI , p.541.

4. About the nature of epigraphs in the works of Puškin see : A.Orlov,  
"Narodnyye pesni v Kapitanskoï dočke Puškina", in : "Hudožestvennyi  
fol'klor", vol.2/3, M.1927 , pp. 8-95.

5. Puškin , vol. VI , p. 474.



identical with the titles in Scott : "The Guide" <sup>1</sup>, or "The Unbidden Guest" <sup>2</sup>.

Thus, applying Scott's methods in a modified form, sometimes heightened, sometimes weakened, Puškin produced his own masterpiece. But Scott's impact on this novel does not end with the use of methods. Puškin readily helped himself out of the store of Scott's plots, assimilating them, but never simply copying.

It is very likely that the general lines of the plot of "The Captain's Daughter" were inspired by "My Grandmother's Story", written by A.K. (A.Kornilovič) <sup>3</sup>, in combination <sup>4</sup> with a "legend" mentioned in his letter of 25th October, 1836. <sup>5</sup>

The plot of "My Grandmother's Story" is as follows : A young girl, the daughter of the commander of a fortress, loves a young officer serving there. The fortress is besieged, the commander executed. The girl is hidden behind a screen in the house of the miller's wife, and is passed off for her grand-daughter. At last the fortress is liberated, and the girl marries her beloved <sup>6</sup>.

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1. "Quentin Durward", vol. I , Ch. XV , p.249.

2. Ibid., vol. II , Ch. VIII , p.125.

3. Puškin , vol. VI , pp.790-791.

4. To my knowledge the possibility of "My Grandmother's Story" being supplemented by the "legend" described in Puškin's letter and both forming the plot of "The Captain's Daughter" has not been discussed in critical literature.

5. See below p.123.

6. V.Gulyayev, op. cit., pp.198-211.

M.A.Cyavlovskii admits the possibility in his comments on Puškin's works <sup>1</sup> that the same sort of material could have been obtained by Puškin from the account of a true episode by the fabulist I.A.Krylov who spent his childhood in the district of Orenburg where his father was a captain <sup>2</sup>.

Anyway , this simple plot was supplemented by the "legend" mentioned in Puškin's letter <sup>3</sup> : " The name of the girl Mironova is invented. My novel is based on a legend, which I once heard ; it appears that one of the officers who betrayed their oath and deserted to Pugačev's gang, was pardoned by the Empress at the request of his old father".

These two stories obviously constitute the kernel of the plot of Puškin's work. However, "the novel deviated considerably from the truth", commented Puškin in the same letter. The responsibility for these deviations lies partly with Sir Walter Scott, since the basic plot of "Kapitanskaya dočka" was worked out with his novels used as a model. In the assimilation of various incidents and situations Puškin was , however, most selective, and took over only those elements which appeared suitable to the general trend of his work, and could not only be successfully applied to Russian circumstances, but were indeed essential for a realistic and vivid

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1. Puškin (Cyavlovskii) , vol. VII , M.1938, p.887.

2. Puškin mentions him in his "History of Pugačev", see below p. 139

3. Puškin , vol. X , p.598.

presentation of the period and its characters. The traditional development of the plot, which is to a certain extent followed by Puškin, offered him a possibility of putting a new meaning into the old forms, an opportunity of embroidering a new pattern on an old canvas, and of competing with Scott in the effect produced.

While Scott's novels give the impression of an author writing at his leisure and having plenty of time for all sorts of interesting excursions and complications of the plot, Puškin is dynamic. He has no time for details, he proceeds at a great speed with his simple straightforward plot. Prince Mirsky has hit the nail on the head, by comparing "Kapitanskaya dočka" with an express train hurrying to its terminus, in contrast to a cavalcade of Canterbury Pilgrims leisurely proceeding along a highway in the novels of Sir Walter Scott<sup>1</sup>. Scott himself explained his method in "Waverley", comparing it with a stone rolled downhill by an idle truant boy. "It moves at first slowly, avoiding by inflection every obstacle of the least importance, but when it has attained its full impulse, and draws near the conclusion of its career, it smokes and thunders down ... becoming most furiously rapid in its course when it is nearest to being consigned to rest for ever".<sup>2</sup> Puškin's "stone"

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1. Prince D.S.Mirsky, "Pushkin", in : "The Slavonic Review", vol.II, London 1923/24, p.83.

2. "Waverley", vol. II , p.347.

is thrown with a greater strength, and proceeds at a greater speed from the very beginning, though tending also to increase its speed towards the end.

In comparison with the monumental novels of Scott, Puškin's work appears rather like a miniature, condensed historical novelette. From this point of view a comparison with "The Surgeon's Daughter" is of interest. In a manner which is not at all typical of Scott, this novel also has a rapid tempo, its plot is quite straightforward, and has none of the involvements common in Scott's historical novels.

As has been mentioned, the basic structure of the plot was developed by Puškin against the background of Scott's novels. The novel that offered him the most important material was "Waverley". There are also some borrowings from "Rob Roy", "The Heart of Midlothian", "Old Mortality", "The Fortunes of Nigel", "Quentin Durward" and others. Most of the parallels have been only recently discovered, mainly by D.Yakubovič<sup>1</sup>; some, like that of Mar'ya Ivanovna's meeting with the Empress and the encounter of Jeanie Deans with Queen Caroline, were noticed by the pre-revolutionary Puškin scholars, and became a favourite and almost hackneyed example of Scott's "influence" on "Kapitanskaya dočka".

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Kapitanskaya dočka ...", pp.165-197.

It seems, however, that of a much greater importance was his impact on the development of the central situations in Puškin's work. The virtual traitor of the "legend" became in the novel a person who in the consequence of a conflict between honour and duty on the one hand, and love on the other, is placed in a position which could almost be qualified as treason. This situation results in an arrest and a trial, at which he is condemned. He is, however, pardoned by the Empress at the request of his betrothed. In developing this core of the plot, Puškin turned to literary precedents in the works of Sir Walter Scott, where all these situations, in fact, existed.

It is characteristic of Puškin's work on "The Captain's Daughter" that, in elaborating the facts drawn from the existing information, he followed the literary precedents in the works of the author who was regarded by him as an authority on the writing of the historical novel. Thus, the kernel of his novel was composed of two anecdotes blended together but the literary form they acquired was based upon situations taken from Sir Walter Scott's novels.

The main idea of the novel is expressed by Puškin in the general epigraph : " Guard your honour from your youth onwards". "Honour", "honourable duty", are emphasized in many places in "Kapitanskaya dočka". A collision of honour and sense of duty with love causes the strange position of the hero, and is, in

fact, the central situation in the novel. All the previous elements of the plot lead to it, all the later developments are its consequences. Thus Puškin placed a psychological element in the centre of his novel. The betrayal of one's honour was a problem which interested him, just as Lermontov was interested in the question of love betrayed.

The problem of "honour" is one of the leading themes in "Waverley". Edward feels that his "honour has been publicly and unjustly" assailed<sup>1</sup>. Scott emphasizes this idea by a quotation from a London journal : " ... is not the only example of the W a v e r i n g H o n o u r o f W - v - r - l y H - n - r . " <sup>2</sup>

The "strange" situation of the hero consists in his good relations with the enemy, forced upon him by circumstances. These circumstances arise in consequence of his desire to save his beloved<sup>3</sup>. As soon as this is done Grinev follows

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1. "Waverley" , vol. II, p.162.

2. "Waverley" , vol. I , p.239.

3. "What was I to do ? To remain in the fortress dependent on the rogue, or to follow his gang, was improper for an officer. My duty demanded that I should return to the place, where my services could yet be of use to my country in her present embarrassing circumstances. But love strongly urged me to remain near to Mar'ya Ivanovna".

Cf. Puškin , vol. VI , p.471.

his duty. Grinev does nothing that would conflict with his duty<sup>1</sup>; he is frank and fearless with Pugačev, thoroughly honest in his behaviour, and his only crime is that of having been on good terms with the enemy. His decision to go to Belogorskaya follows the general's refusal to help which must have been felt by Grinev as an injustice done to the daughter of the heroic Captain Mironov. Circumstances bring him into touch with Pugačev whose help he readily accepts in order to save his beloved.

A situation in which an honest hero is forced by circumstances, contrary to his conviction, to become a traitor is familiar in many of Scott's novels; in none of them, however, is it developed in a manner identical to that of Puškin, who assimilating Scott's situations, gives them a new meaning. The treatment of this problem, which is most similar to the form it takes in "The Captain's Daughter", is to be found in "Waverley". The idea of love and politics is emphasized there by the title of one of the chapters: "Intrigues of Love and Politics"<sup>2</sup>. As the result of a series of circumstances and through an attachment to a woman, both Grinev and Waverley become involved in good relations with their political enemies. Later, however, Waverley,

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1. "Do not ask from me what is contrary to my honour", he says to Pugačev. Cf. Puškin, vol. VI, p.513.

2. "Waverley", vol. II, p.173.



as a consequence of the injustice done to him by the charge of high treason, goes over to the enemy. Grinev's story finishes earlier and he never becomes a real traitor.

A similar problem was treated by Sir Walter Scott in "Old Mortality". Morton, like Waverley and Grinev, is involved in contact with the enemy through an injustice done to him, and through a series of circumstances beyond his control.

There is a certain likeness between the relations of Grinev to Pugačev and that of Francis Osbaldistone to Rob Roy. In both novels the historical characters who are objectively enemies of the hero are subjectively not only their friends but even benefactors. "I cannot explain what I felt on parting from this terrible man, - this monster, who in everybody's eyes except mine was a rogue", Grinev says <sup>1</sup>; at another time he calls Pugačev his benefactor <sup>2</sup>.

An incident arising from Grinev's good relations with Pugačev is his arrest, like that of Edward Waverley who also was a victim of his contact with the enemy. Zurin shows Grinev a paper - a secret order to arrest him and to send him immediately under a guard to Kazan'. Compare : " He handed to Waverley a warrant ... for apprehending and securing the person of Edward Waverley Esq." <sup>3</sup>. Waverley was partly charged with setting the

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.516.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.513.

3. "Waverley" , vol.II , p.14.



men he commanded an example of desertion <sup>1</sup>, while Grinev was at first sure that his guilt consisted in an unwarranted absence from Orenburg.

An interrogation takes place in both novels, and regret is expressed that such a charge should be raised against the member of an honourable family. Naturally, Grinev and Waverley both feel insulted after learning what they have been charged with. In both cases their examiners are prejudiced against them. Both prisoners try at first to justify themselves, but seeing that all the evidence is against them become silent. While Waverley declares : " There is no reason I should answer a word more, and I am determined to abide by this resolution " <sup>2</sup>, Grinev replies that he will stick to his former explanation and can add nothing more in his justification. He has only one satisfaction : the name of Mar'ya Ivanovna has not been mentioned <sup>3</sup>. Compare : " ... suppressing his attachment to Flora, and indeed neither mentioning her nor Rose Bradwardine in the course of his narrative " <sup>4</sup>.

The later course of "Kapitanskaya dočka" is, however, different from that of "Waverley". While the insult of being charged with high treason makes Waverley join the enemy forces,

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1. "Waverley" , vol. II , p.13

2. "Waverley" , vol. II , p.20

3. Puškin , vol. VI , p.531.

4. "Waverley" , vol. II , p. 35.

Grinev's story finishes on the model of an episode in "The Heart of Midlothian".

Thus the central situations in "The Captain's Daughter" in comparison to "Waverley" can be described as follows :

" WAVERLEY ".	" THE CAPTAIN'S DAUGHTER ".
I. Conflict <sup>of</sup> between honour and duty with love.	Conflict <sup>of</sup> between honour and duty with love.
II. Ambiguous position which can be qualified as treason.	Ambiguous position which can be qualified as treason.
III. Arrest and interrogation.	Arrest and interrogation.
IV. Real treason.	-
V. Pardon.	Pardon.

The episode presenting the meeting of Mar'ya Ivanovna and the Empress was for a long time the classical example of a connection between "The Captain's Daughter" and the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Even if it was not inspired by Sir Walter Scott alone, but also by an anecdote about Joseph II ( meeting a girl in the park, summoning her to the palace, and giving her assistance ) <sup>1</sup>, it is clear that the role of Scott in this episode was quite important.

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1. N.V.Yakovlev, "K literaturnoi istorii Kapitanskoï dočki", in :

"Puškin, Vremennik Puškinskoï komissii", vol.4/5 , M.1939 ,pp.487-488.

Like Jeanie Deans, Mar'ya Ivanovna decides to go to the capital to seek a pardon from the Empress. (It is typical of Puškin that the description of the journey is omitted). She stays with a woman who is in many ways like Mrs. Glass. Though Mar'ya Ivanovna's encounter with the Empress is accidental, there are some details of the meeting that are reminiscent of Scott. The main parallel, however, seems to be the arrival of the groom, the wish of the landlady to accompany the girl, and to make her change her dress, the groom's insistence that she should go alone and dressed as she is. Compare : (the groom)

" ... said he was obliged to decline the pleasure of Mrs. Glass's company, as his message was particularly to the young person", and : " ... I must not allow her time for any change of dress" <sup>1</sup>.

Like Queen Caroline, the Empress grants the desired pardon. In addition, she promises the girl financial help, like Queen Caroline, who gives Jeanie a bank-bill for fifty pounds.

Thus Grinev was granted a pardon in the same way as was Effie Deans. With this episode ends the central line of the plot, in the construction of which Scott's role was so important. However, this was not the only effect of Sir Walter Scott on the plot of "Kapitanskaya dočka". There are quite a few striking parallels in peripheral situations.

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1. "The Heart of Midlothian", vol. II , pp.176-177.

Like Edward Waverley, Grinev is quite a young man at the beginning of the novel. While Edward's education was "of a nature somewhat desultory" <sup>1</sup>, all that Petruša derived from his somewhat scrappy education was the ability to read and write Russian and to judge the qualities of a borzoi dog <sup>2</sup>.

In the traditional way, the hero's adventures start with a journey. The parting words of his father are of the same nature as the farewell of Sir Everard. "Serve truly those to whom you swear an oath ... do not thrust yourself forward for duty, nor attempt to evade it" <sup>3</sup>, and remember the proverb: take care of your cloth from the time it is new, guard your honour from your youth onwards" <sup>4</sup>, says old Grinev to his son. "... and, sir, in the field of battle you will remember what name you bear ... as far as duty and honour will permit, avoid danger, - I mean, unnecessary danger ..." , were the parting words of Sir Everard to his nephew <sup>5</sup>. Both heroes receive a letter of introduction. The reproaches Savel'yič makes to Grinev after the gambling episode <sup>6</sup> recall a similar situation in "The Fortunes of Nigel" <sup>7</sup>.

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1. "Waverley", vol. I, p.18.

2. Puškin, vol. VI, p.394.

3. "... na službu ne naprašivašsya, ot služby ne otgovarivašsya ... "

4. Puškin, vol. VI, p.398.

5. "Waverley", vol. I, pp.44-45.

6. Puškin, vol. VI, pp.401-403.

7. "The Fortunes of Nigel", vol. I, p.243.

Both heroes, though outwardly annoyed, are conscience-stricken at the rebukes. Grinev's surprise at seeing a miserable little hamlet instead of a real fortress bears some likeness to the feelings of Edward Waverley on his arrival at the village of Tully-Veolan. There is a similarity in the descriptions of both places. Neither of the heroes is met by anybody<sup>1</sup>.

As Francis Osbaldistone quarrels with Rashley, so Grinev has a dispute with his rival Švabrin, and in both cases the motives are partly similar in character. This incident is followed in both novels by a duel, which is, however, interrupted by a third person. The wounded hero, like Ivanhoe, is nursed by the heroine.

The defence of a fortress became a traditional subject for Scott's followers in Russia, and this theme also formed an element of the plot in Puškin's novel. The preparations for the defence, as was pointed out by Yakubovič, have their literary precedent in "Old Mortality". The arrangements for the defence of the inhabitants of Tullietudlem headed by the old Major Bellenden, described by Scott in a humorous way ("... more than nine men under arms ...<sup>2</sup>"), were the model followed by Puškin in his witty account of the measures taken by the commandant of Belogorskaya.

Like Scott, Puškin emphasizes by repetition the existence of

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1. "Nikto ne vstretil menya". Cf. Puškin, vol. VI, p.417.

"... no answer was returned," . "Waverley", vol. I, p.67.

2. "Old Mortality", vol. I, p.269.

an old cannon and the necessity of cleaning it <sup>1</sup>. The heroic refusal of the commandant's wife to leave the fortress, though with a modified motive, has been modelled on the reaction of Lady Margaret to the proposal of her brother to leave for Charnwood. "No, brother," said Lady Margaret ... : "since the auld house is to be held out, I will take my chance in it" <sup>2</sup>. "Don't even dream of asking me : I will not go. I should look well leaving you and seeking a lonely grave in another place now that I have reached old age. If you've lived together - then you should die together", says the heroic Vasilisa Yegorovna <sup>3</sup>.

The siege itself is, in the opinion of Yakubovič <sup>4</sup>, reminiscent of "Quentin Durward" ("The Sack" and "The Sally"). It is , however, more likely that Puškin used here some historical sources to describe the advance of Pugačev. One feature, however, is common to both novels : the hero is a

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1. "Inspect the cannon and clean it properly", orders the commandant, and a little later : "She caught a glance of Ivan Ignat'yevič pulling out from the cannon rags, little stones, chips, knucklebones, and every sort of rubbish, crammed into it by the children". Puškin, vol.VI, pp.448,450.
  2. "Old Mortality" , vol. I , p.267.
  3. "A menya i vo sne ne prosi : ne poyedu. Nečego mne pod starost' let rasstavat'sya s tobou, da iskat' odinokoï mogily na čužoï storone. Vmeste žit', vmeste i umirat'". Puškin , vol.VI , pp.457-458.
  4. D.Yakubovič, "Kapitanskaya dočka ...", p. 181.

witness of the sacking of the fortress by the enemy. In order to emphasize the contrast between this new situation and the former quiet atmosphere both authors resort to a comparison : " Instead of the orderly, decent, and somewhat formal meal, at which civil and ecclesiastical officers had, a few hours before, sat mingled in the same apartment <sup>1</sup> ... there was now ... a scene of wild and roaring debauchery ... At the head of the table sat, in the Bishop's throne and state ... the redoubted Boar of Ardennes himself ...", and on the other hand : " My heart began to ache when we found ourselves in the room long since familiar to me ... Pugačev sat down on the divan , on which Ivan Kuz'mič used to dose , lulled by the grumbling of his wife" <sup>2</sup> .

The incident of Savel'yič's presenting to Pugačev a list of the property of which his master was robbed appears also to have had its precedent in the bill handed over by Ritchie to the King <sup>3</sup> . Puškin, however strengthens this humorous episode by placing the description of it in the body of his narrative, and not (as in Scott) in the words of one of the characters.

There are other though minor points of contact between the plot of "Kapitanskaya dočka" and those of Scott's novels ; such as the identical functions of the letters written by Mar'ya Ivanovna and Rose Bradwardine, or the features common both to

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1. "Quentin Durward" , vol. II (Chapter V) , pp.69-70.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.509.

3. "The Fortunes of Nigel" , vol. I , p.62.



the arrival of Grinev and Savel'yič to Pugačev, and to the meeting of Wildreck with Cromwell in "Woodstock" <sup>1</sup>.

It remains to show the debt of Puškin to Scott in the matter of characters, and here his indebtedness is smaller than in the two previous cases.

A classical example of the impact of Scott's characters on Puškin's work is Savel'yič, who since the time of Belinskiĭ has been considered the Russian incarnation of Caleb from "The Bride of Lammermoor" <sup>2</sup>. However, this statement has been called in question by F.Lannes <sup>3</sup> and A.Beleckiĭ <sup>4</sup>, who pointed out a similarity in Savel'yič to the servant of Grammont - Brinon, in "Les Mémoires du Chevalier de Gramont" by Antoine Hamilton. This work, written in French, was published in 1713. An English translation was annotated by Sir Walter Scott in 1811. In all three works, a servant devoted to his master's interests is portrayed. Another servant in the works of Sir Walter Scott,

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1. Puškin spoke with admiration about this episode in one of his articles. Cf. Puškin, vol. VII, pp.497-498.
  2. Caleb as a type was so popular in Russia that the name became a common name for a devoted servant. Thus, the Karamzins gave their servant the name "Caleb".
  3. F.Lannes, "Les Mémoires d'A.Hamilton et la Fille du Capitaine de Pouchkine", in : "Revue de littérature comparée", 1924, p.670.
  4. A.Beleckiĭ, op. cit., pp.193-194.



the impertinent Ritchie from "The Fortunes of Nigel", who was the author of Savel'yič's idea of handing in the bill for his master's stolen property to Pugačev, could supplement this list of the servants, separately or jointly, used as prototype of Savel'yič. Puškin, however, was too much of a genius to have transplanted this type into a Russian setting if the devoted servant had not been common among the better class of Russian serfs. Indeed, such an absolute devotion in their master's interests was not so rare a quality in these persons, and was portrayed in later years quite frequently in Russian literature. While Scott regarded Partridge as a typical English servant, Savel'yič, though he undoubtedly bears some qualities that make him a relative of Caleb, Ritchie and others, is, in fact, thoroughly Russian. Here once again Puškin used a form which became traditional in order to fill it with a Russian content.

There are certain traits in the character of Pugačev reminiscent of Rob Roy : both are sagacious and clever, courageous but blood-thirsty. Both, have their own ideas about moral obligations and both sympathise with the hero.

It is difficult to see why Yakubovič considered that Cosmo Bradwardine was a prototype of the general Andrei Karlovič in "The Captain's Daughter". There are, however, in Ivan Kuz'mič some qualities that remind one of Baron Bradwardine - his goodheartedness, his honesty, his devotion to a political

cause. It seems, however, that there was also another person, who inspired Puškin's portrait of the commandant. As suggested by Cyavlovskiĭ<sup>1</sup>, the prototype of Captain Mironov, a humble and unimportant officer of a provincial garrison but a firm and wise commander during the attack, who is capable of real heroism, was the father of the fabulist Krylov. In the appendix to his "History of Pugačev", Puškin writes<sup>2</sup>: "The father of Krylov (a Captain) was with Simanov ... His firmness and prudence had a great influence on local engagements ... Since the rank of a captain was notable, there were found in Pugačev's papers the names of Krylova and her son in a list of persons who were to be hanged, and of the streets (on which they were to be executed)".

This short character-sketch of Krylov and the reference to the foreseen execution of his wife and son<sup>3</sup> makes one believe that Cyavlovskiĭ was right in supposing that Krylov's father was the person who inspired Puškin to create Ivan Kuz'miĭch as he was; it may be that additional characteristics, however, came from the Baron.

Clear traces of the intriguer Rashley are observable in Grinev's rival and the traditional villain of the novel - Švabrin. "And Rashley, what a type!" Puškin is supposed to have exclaimed

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1. Puškin (Cyavlovskiĭ), vol. VII, M.1938, p.887.

2. Puškin, vol. VIII, p.359: "The evidence of Krylov (the poet)".

3. Captain Mironov was hanged by Pugačev after having heroically refused to recognize him as Tsar.

with admiration <sup>1</sup>. Intelligent, well-educated, these men are exceptions in their surroundings. Intriguers with no moral grounding at all, they both present a most unattractive appearance. While Scott describes the "diabolic sneer" of Rashley, Puškin speaks of the "devilish smile" of Švabrin. Both are the heroes' rivals, and both try to influence the hero against the object of their love.

A convincing parallel pointed out by M. Gofman <sup>2</sup> is that of the old Grinev and Davie Deans in "The Heart of Midlothian". In both men a sense of duty is extremely strong, and both are ashamed to show their attachment to their family, since such an attachment would, in the case of Davie, be unworthy of the Church, and, in the case of Grinev, of service to the Tsar. In both cases they try to produce the impression that the supposed crime of their children is a greater shock to them than the expected punishment.

The same Gofman pointed out a similarity between Mar'ya Ivanovna and one of Scott's best heroines Jeanie Deans. There is certainly a resemblance between these modest and noble creatures. As Jeanie refuses to tamper with the truth, so Mar'ya Ivanovna refuses to marry Grinev without the blessing of his parents. The stimulus of their heroic decision to obtain a

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1. A.O. Smirnova, op. cit. , p.167.

2. M. Gofman, "Kapitanskaya dočka"..., pp.369-370.

pardon for the prisoners is, in fact, the same : it is love - in the case of Jeanie - love of her sister, in that of Mar'ya Ivanovna - love of her fiancé. But that is all that is common to these simple and honest girls. In fact, there is a greater likeness between Mar'ya Ivanovna and another of Puškin's characters, Tat'yana, - a traditional comparison.

There can, however, be hardly any doubt that the "kind and officious but somewhat gossiping" <sup>1</sup> Mrs. Glass is a prototype of Anna Vlas'yevna "whose conversation was worthy of several pages of historical notes and would be of value to posterity" <sup>2</sup>. Both feel most superior towards their rural visitors. Both are of the opinion that they are experienced in all the ceremonial of behaviour in high-society. While Mrs. Glass is most worried that Jeanie should properly address the Duke as "your Grace", and show her breeding to him, Anna Vlas'yevna "initiated her (Mar'ya Ivanovna) into all the mysteries of court life" <sup>3</sup>.

Scott's impact on this work of Puškin was extremely complex and many-sided. Puškin, with the insight of genius, understood Scott's

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1. "The Heart of Midlothian" , vol. II , p.173.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.535

The tone of this ironical remark reminds one of Puškin's note in his diary made in December 1834 : " I shall describe all the details for the benefit of a future Walter Scott". See above p. 77.

3. Puškin , vol. VI , p.538.

manner more deeply than anyone else in Russia. He applied Scott's methods but adjusted them to his own literary talent. Assimilating the plots, using the traditional situations, he knew how to give them a new life and meaning, thus creating his own masterpiece and opening the way to Realism in Russian literature.

"Preciseness and conciseness" were the standards Puškin set himself in his prose work, and followed them in his masterpiece : as few descriptive passages as possible, no eloquence, no details, an extreme precision of style. This outstanding work, however, which could easily compete with the best in world literature, would not exist ( or would be completely different) had it not been for the works of Sir Walter Scott.

B. The Works Ascribed  
by Puškin to Belkin.

"The autumn draws nearer. This is my favourite time ... the season of my literary labour comes ...", Puškin wrote to P.A. Pletnev on 31st August 1830<sup>1</sup>. His restlessness very soon found an outlet in a great literary productivity. Among other works written that autumn were "P o v e s t i p o k o ĩ n o g o I v a n a P e t r o v i č a B e l k i n a" ("Tales of the late Ivan Petrovič Belkin"), consisting of five short stories written in the following order: "Grobovščik" ("The Coffin-Maker") - 9th September, "Stancionnyĭ smotritel'" ("The Post-Station Master") - 14th September, "Baryšnya - krest'yanka" ("The Lady - Peasant") - 20th September, "Vystrel" ("The Shot") - 12th and 14th October, and "Metel'" ("The Snow-Storm") - 20th October. It has been accepted in the latest edition of Puškin's works that the Introduction to "Tales of Belkin" was written simultaneously with "Stancionnyĭ smotritel'", i.e. on 14th September<sup>2</sup>. Some of the previous editions regarded this Introduction as written later, only shortly before the Tales were sent to the press.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Puškin, vol. X, p.304.

2. Puškin, vol. VI, p.749.

3. Cf. Pushkin, Tales of the Late Ivan Petrovich Belkin, edited by Prof. B.Unbegaun, Oxford 1947.

As is obvious from the title, Puškin ascribed his five tales to the pen of the late Ivan Petrovič Belkin - a person who existed only in his imagination <sup>1</sup>. There may have been some practical reasons which made Puškin publish his Tales "Anonyme", as he expressed it in his letter to Pletnev of 9th December 1830 <sup>2</sup>, but it could have been done without inventing an imaginary author. Puškin, however, preferred to use Scott's method as a cloak.

The pseudonymous and anonymous publication of literary works existed before Scott, but it appears nowhere else in such a complicated form, where different actions connected with a series of works are attributed to various imaginary persons who are raised into independent literary figures.

Introductions à la Scott became very fashionable in Russia in the middle of the twenties, they were sometimes even accompanied by the portraits of the invented author. Puškin, however, was the first in Russian literature to raise the pseudonym into an independent literary figure, as was done by Scott, and to apply, though in a modified way, the complicated machinery not only of an invented author but also of other intermediaries connected with the work.

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1. P.J.F. Baldensperger and W.P. Friederich, Bibliography of Comparative Literature, (University of North Carolina) Chapel Hill 1950, p. 564, in earnest attributed this work to I.P. Belkin.

2. Puškin, vol. X, p. 324.

Though Puškin appeared to be scared of Bulgarin's criticism<sup>1</sup> and therefore did not want to publish his stories under his own name, yet he had no intention of strictly preserving his anonymity. "Do whisper my name to Smirdin, so that he will whisper it in his turn to the customers", he instructed Pletnev in his letter of 15th August 1831<sup>2</sup>. The same attitude is discernible in the fact that instead of giving an invented name to the author and the editor, as was done by Scott, Puškin gave the editor his own initials "A.P.", which was indeed a very transparent camouflage.

Puškin's contemporaries must have noticed the connection between Belkin and Scott's methods, since F.B. (Bulgarin), hinting at Puškin and Gogol', wrote in "Severnaya pčela" in 1831 : "Walter Scott became famous under invented names which finally fused into the composite nickname 'Le grand Inconnu'. And we are beginning at the same point. The author conceals his name under an invented nickname yet asks his friends to announce this secret at every post-station ...<sup>3</sup>".

The connection between Puškin's invented author and the manner of Sir Walter Scott was pointed out by Belinskiĭ : "Walter Scott used to ascribe his novels to a sacristan of some country church ; Puškin published the stories he had written under the name of Belkin ...".

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1. Puškin , vol. X , p.324 : "I shall be scolded by Bulgarin." (" ... Bulgarin zarugayet.")
  2. Puškin , vol. X , p.377.
  3. "Severnaya pčela" , 1831, No.286.



A detailed study of the connection between the Introduction to "Tales of Belkin" and the narrative methods of Sir Walter Scott was made by Yakubovič<sup>1</sup>, who, however, tends to exaggerate the importance of Scott for Puškin in this respect, and comes to the conclusion that Puškin shows a "talented copying" (genial'noye kopirovaniye) of Scott's methods<sup>2</sup> in his Introduction.

In reality the complicated and somewhat obscure machinery of Scott's construction was simplified in the short Introduction of Puškin. The "editor" of the work is "A.P.", the "author" is the "late Ivan Petrovič Belkin", whose tales were based on stories told by various persons : " ... above every narrative was written in the hand of the author : 'heard from such a person, (the rank or the title and the initials of the name and the surname)'.<sup>3</sup>" (Compare : " ... and I will only farther premise that each tale is preceded by a short introduction, mentioning the persons by whom and the circumstances under which, the materials thereof were collected"<sup>4</sup>). In order to enable the "editor" to give a short biographical sketch of the "author" two intermediary persons are introduced into Puškin's Introduction : the relative and heiress of Belkin - Mar-ya Ivanovna

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Predisloviye k Povestiyam Belkina i povestvovatel'nyye priyemy Val'ter Skotta", in : " Puškin i mirovaya literatura", 1926, pp.161-187.
  2. Ibid., p.171.
  3. Puškin , vol. VI , note to p.83.
  4. "Old Mortality" , vol. I , Introduction, p.XVIII.

Trafilina - who is only briefly referred to, since she was not acquainted with Ivan Petrovič Belkin and advised the "editor" to apply for the required information to a friend of the late "author". This friend - the landowner of Nenaradovo - gives a sketch of Ivan Petrovič in his letter, fully quoted in the Introduction. (Fictitious letters were a favourite method of Sir Walter Scott also <sup>1</sup>). The landowner himself, however, also wants to remain anonymous, since though he respected and liked authors he considered it unnecessary and improper to enter this profession at his age <sup>2</sup>. His motives for remaining anonymous remind one of the Preface to the third edition of "Waverley" : "He may be a man of a grave profession to whom the reputation of being a novel-writer might be prejudicial ; or he may be a man of fashion, to whom writing of any kind might appear pedantic. He may be too young to assume the character of an author, or so old as to make it advisable to lay it aside" <sup>3</sup>.

There is a feature in the character of the landowner of Nenaradovo reminiscent of Jedediah - both are proud of the places they belong to. "My village is also mentioned somewhere", the landowner says proudly, while Jedediah boasts about the importance of Gandercleugh <sup>4</sup>.

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1. Cf. e.g. "Monastery": the "Introductory Epistle" and "The Reply" to it.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.84.

3. "Waverley" , vol. I , p.CX.

4. " ... Gandercleugh is ... the central part, - the navel ... of Scotland."

The structure of Puškin's Introduction appears to be of a similar character as Sir Walter Scott's introductions to his "Tales of my Landlord". However, Scott's anonymity goes further, since neither his name nor even his initials appear in the book <sup>1</sup>. Though the tales are "collected and reported" <sup>2</sup> by Jedediah Cleishbotham, yet he renounces his being "the writer, redacter, or compiler" of them <sup>3</sup>. The "author" of the manuscript is his late friend Peter Pattieson. The part of the Landlord of the Wallace Inn seems to be obscure, since though the title suggests that it was he who told the stories, nothing definite can be concluded from the introductions <sup>4</sup>. He, however, like the intermediaries of Puškin, appears as a literary character in the introductions. Here Scott's mystification ends, and, contrary to Puškin's invented story-tellers, he mentions the names of the real persons, such as Robert Paterson.

Both Scott and Puškin, wanting to give an illusion of reality to their inventions, give all sorts of details about the lives of the characters in their introductions. Here,

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1. From this point of view there is a similarity between Puškin's work and the "Monastery" which was edited by the "Author of Waverley".
  2. In the edition of 1817 Jedediah Cleishbotham was supposed to have "collected and arranged" the tales. Cf. "Tales of my Landlord", 1817, titlepage.
  3. "Old Mortality", vol. I, (Introduction), p. XIII.
  4. I am indebted for this indication to J.C. Corson, M.A., Ph.D., to whom I express my gratitude.

however, there is again a difference. While Scott pays most attention to the editor and the Landlord, only briefly mentioning the actual "late author", Puškin prefers to appear himself as the editor (though using only his initials), and the person most fully portrayed in his Introduction is the "author". The result achieved by him is therefore more effective, though the anonymity is not so complete.

Yakubovič finds traces of similarity in the characters of Belkin and the Landlord of the Wallace Inn. This likeness seems, however, to be rather remote and consists only in the fact that Belkin, like the Landlord, was a pleasing character :  
" ... it was impossible not to like him ...", and that both valued highly a conversation with their friends.

More important appears to be the reference to an "abundance of manuscripts" left by Ivan Petrovič, - some of which are partly in the possession of his friend, the landowner of Nenaradovo, while others were used by his house-keeper for all sorts of domestic needs <sup>1</sup>, - and a promise (which appears only in the draft of Puškin's Introduction) to publish one extensive manuscript if the narratives were favourably received by the public <sup>2</sup>. This trick of hinting that only a small part of the manuscript had been used in the particular work was often practised by Scott, though also by other authors.

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , pp.82-83.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.717.

The use of the valuable manuscript for domestic needs is also reminiscent of the frequent disposal of manuscripts for inappropriate purposes mentioned in Scott's introductions. (Compare : " ... it was these ill-fated hands that consigned to grease and conflagration the scores of small quartos, which, did they exist, would drive the whole Roxburghe Club out of their senses - it was these unhappy pickers and stealers that singed fat fowls and wiped dirty trenchers with the lost works of Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Jonson, Webster ..." <sup>1</sup>).

The attitude of Belkin to the Tales collected by him recalls that of Peter Pattieson. Pattieson felt free to handle the tales as he pleased when arranging them for the press, he " ... more consulted his own fancy than the accuracy of the narratives ; ... he hath sometimes blended two or three stories together for the mere grace of his plots." <sup>2</sup> Belkin invented the names in the stories he had heard from various persons and borrowed the names of the villages. In another work "written" by Belkin, Puškin makes his "author" say more about his methods : " ... I selected some remarkable anecdotes which I once heard from various people, and tried to decorate the truth with the liveliness of the narrative and, sometimes, also with the flowers of my own imagination " <sup>3</sup>. No doubt this

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1. "The Fortunes of Nigel" , vol. I , p.XLVI : Introductory Epistle.
  2. "Old Mortality", vol. I , p.XVII : Introduction.
  3. Puškin , vol. VI , p.181 : "Istoriya sela Goryuhina".

sentence should be regarded as a reference to the "Tales of Belkin".

By applying in his own work Scott's method of "framing", by introducing into his Introduction various invented persons connected in one way or another with the work of its publishing and thus creating an impression of reality, Puškin aimed at evoking in the readers the belief that the work was in fact written by Ivan Petrovič Belkin. So many details were known about the good man's life that it would be impossible to doubt his existence. However, this mystification interested Puškin mainly as a literary method, as can be inferred from the fact that he did not seriously intend to conceal his name from the public, as was done by Scott, and wanted it to be "whispered" about. From the fact that there are in the "Tales of Belkin" many elements of parody, from the fact that Puškin was pleased with the reaction of Baratynskiĭ who "roared" with laughter after having read them <sup>1</sup>, from the fact that he called his narratives "skazki", one may conclude that he himself regarded his work as admirable fun. There was perhaps something of the same attitude in his Introduction, and the mystification seriously intended to be kept up by Sir Walter Scott, was in Puškin the result of a mere whim to use a fashionable literary method, combined with a curiosity about the reception of this work by those critics who, like Bulgarin, were not favourable

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1. Puškin, vol. X, p.324.

to him <sup>1</sup>.

Many pages have been written by Russian scholars concerning the question of how much Belkin's person is visible in his Tales, i.e. whether Puškin used his Belkin only technically in the preface alone, or whether all the Tales are filtered through the prism of Belkin. No unanimous conclusion has been reached on this question. The solution of the problem is irrelevant to the question of Scott's impact. Scott's novels united under the title of "Tales of my Landlord" do not reflect either Peter Pattieson <sup>2</sup>, the Landlord, Jedediah, or anybody, except Scott. If one is of the opinion that Puškin used his pseudonym in a more profound sense, and that his Tales are such as would have been written by Belkin (an opinion with which it is difficult to agree though it is frequently expressed by modern scholars), one can come to the conclusion that he developed even further the method launched by Sir Walter Scott and diffused the personality of the invented author over the narrative itself.

"Tales of Belkin" were received rather coolly by the Russian critics. It was their simplicity and insignificance with which their author was mainly reproached. Belinskiĭ saw in them

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1. A.Lang writes in his Editor's Introduction to "Waverley": "Scott's reasons for being anonymous have been stated by himself. 'It was his humour', that is the best of the reasons, and the secret gave him a great deal of amusement". Cf. "Waverley", vol. I, p.XCI: Editor's Introduction.
  2. Except such chapters, like Chapter One in "The Bride of Lammermoor", which is, in fact, supposed to be an Introductory chapter written by Peter Pattieson.



the signs of a decline in Puškin's talent. The ironical notes in some of the Tales were not noticed until much later, nor was any attention paid to the fact that there is a certain contact between each story and the person who was supposed to have told it, and that each narrative conformed to a certain style <sup>1</sup>. However, some modern Russian scholars praise "Tales of Belkin" as a new page not only in Russian but also in European literature <sup>2</sup>.

These Tales are short narratives, each based on an anecdote told by a certain person <sup>3</sup>. An anecdote in the meaning of unpublished details of history is also the foundation of most of Scott's novels. The author's notes attached to his novels contain references to such anecdotes. Whether these anecdotes were, in fact, told to the author by somebody or whether they were a product of his own imagination, is irrelevant.

Anecdotes are the basis not only of "Tales of Belkin", where their importance has been specially emphasized by Puškin in a reference to the persons by whom each story was told, but also of "The Captain's Daughter", the plot of which was built on two anecdotes blended together <sup>4</sup>.

Proceeding to the question of Scott's impact on the various narratives of the "Tales of Belkin", one comes to the conclusion that here too Puškin turned to the Scottish novelist on several

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1. Cf. V.V.Vimogradov, "Put' Puškina k realizmu", in : "Literaturnoye Nasledstvo", vol.16/18, M.1934 , pp.86-87.

2. Cf. I.M.Nusinov , op. cit., pp.9 ff.

3. Cf. L.Grosman, Etyudy o Puškine , M.-P. 1923 , pp.39-75.

4. See above pp.122-123.



occasions. From this point of view "The Lady-Peasant" is of special interest. The plot of this graceful story is partly based on situations similar to those in "The Bride of Lammermoor"<sup>1</sup>. There can be no doubt about Puškin's acquaintance with this novel, since there is an indirect reference to it in one of the stories<sup>2</sup>. The Shakespearian theme of a feud between two families and a romantic attachment between the younger members of these families was a favourite background to many of Scott's plots. Some other parallels with "The Bride of Lammermoor" prove that it was to Scott that Puškin turned when developing the same theme in his story<sup>3</sup>.

One morning Berestov accompanied by a groom and some of the village boys goes for a ride taking some hounds with him. At the same time his neighbour Muromskii goes out on horseback to inspect his property. Approaching the wood he notices his neighbour sitting proudly on his horse. A short description of his dress follows.

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Reminiscenci iz Val'ter Skotta v Povestyah Belkina", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol.37, pp.106-110.
  2. Puškin, vol. VI, p.120 : "Grobovščik".
  3. The literary dependency of "Baryšnya-krestyanka" ("The Lady-Peasant") from "Urok Lyubvi" ("Le Baron Adelstan ou le pouvoir de l'amour") by Baroness de Montolieu, shown by M.Speranskiĭ in : "Sbornik Har'kovskogo Istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva", vol.19, 1910, does not contradict this assumption, since it affects the other situations in the plot.

Muromskii, being a well-mannered European, approaches his opponent and greets him politely. The unpleasant situation is interrupted by a hare running across the field. The hunters shout and rush behind him following their hounds. The horse of Muromskii, unused to the chase, is startled and bolts. Muromskii falls. Berestov approaches him and inquires whether he has hurt himself. He helps Muromskii to mount his horse, and invites him to his house. Muromskii is unable to refuse, since he now feels himself under obligation ... During lunch in the house of Berestov, the neighbours have a friendly talk.

This passage recalls a situation, in many ways similar, in "The Bride of Lammermoor". During the hunting of a stag, the Master of Ravenswood is offered the use of a horse by a stranger. Though this offer is not accepted by Ravenswood himself but by his friend, it makes Ravenswood feel indebted to the stranger (or his unknown master who is, in fact, Ravenswood's enemy - Sir William Ashton). After the chase is over, a chance brings both enemies together. "As he (the Master of Ravenswood) was about to move towards the group of assembled huntsmen, he was joined by a horseman". A description of his costume and his horse follows. "He accosted Ravenswood very politely, but not without some embarrassment" <sup>1</sup>.

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1. "The Bride of Lammermoor" vol. I, p.136.

Compare : " Muromskii kak obrazovannyi yevropeyec pod'yehal k svoemu protivniku i uchtivo ego privetstvoval". Cf. Puškin, vol. VI, p.159.

"Ravenswood answered ... with a cold and distant assent." <sup>1</sup>  
During the conversation the horse of Lucy Ashton " ... showed symptoms of impatience and restiveness <sup>2</sup>...". The storm was approaching, and, following a hint from the old gentleman, Ravenswood felt it impossible to avoid offering an old man and a lady the temporary use of his house. "There was no room to retreat" <sup>3</sup>. Later, in the course of the narrative, Lucy and her father dine in the house of their former enemy. As a consequence of this reconciliation an attachment between Lucy and the Master of Ravenswood develops. (In Puškin's story the attachment between the daughter of Muromskii and the son of Berestov existed before the reconciliation).

There is a direct reference to Sir Walter Scott in Puškin's " G r o b o v š č i k " ("The Coffin-Maker") : "Both Shakespeare and Walter Scott presented their gravediggers as gay and bantering people in order to strike the more our imagination with this contrast" <sup>4</sup>, he says, referring of course to the gravedigger in

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1. "The Bride of Lammermoor" , vol. I , p.137.

Compare : " Berestov otvečal s takim že userdiem s kakovym cepnoi medved'klanyayetsya gospodam po prikazaniyu svoyego vožatogo".

2. "The Bride of Lammermoor" , vol. I , pp.139-140

Compare : " Lošad' Muromskogo, ne byvavšaya nikogda na ohote, ispugalas' i ponesla". Cf. Puškin , vol. VI , p.159.

3. "The Bride of Lammermoor" , vol. I , pp.140-141.

Compare : " Berestov priglasil ego k sebe. Muromskii ne mog otkazat'sya ..." . Cf. Puškin , vol. VI , p.160.

4. Puškin , vol. VI , p.120.

"Hamlet" and to the sexton in "The Bride of Lammermoor"<sup>1</sup>. He goes on : " Out of respect for the truth we cannot follow their example and are forced to confess that the character of our coffin-maker fully corresponded to his gloomy trade".

D.Yakubovič comes to the conclusion that this sentence acts as a sort of "projection" of an epigraph<sup>2</sup> which itself is not actually given, and that in fact Puškin too follows the line of contrast indicated in his reference (the humorous sign-board inscription, the coffin-maker at the wedding) and that there are similar traits in Adrian Prohorov to that of the sexton in "The Bride of Lammermoor".

This likeness seems, however, too remote for one to be sure of the impact of Scott here. The thrift, as well as the professional pride of his Adrian could have been observed by Puškin in any tradesman, especially since it is known that Adrian Prohorov had a living prototype in a neighbour of Puškin's fiancée<sup>3</sup>.

There is, however, another though indirect reference to Scott, or, at least, to his imitators, in the text of this narrative : " I shall not describe the Russian 'kaftan' of Adrian Prohorov, or the European apparel of Akulina and Dar'ya, - departing in this case from the custom accepted by contemporary novelists"<sup>4</sup>. Puškin

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1. "The Bride of Lammermoor", vol.II, Chapter III, p.37, to which lines from "Hamlet" are used as an epigraph ("Hamlet", Act V ,Scene I).

2. " ... nosit funkciju svoeobrazno sprojecirovannogo motto iz nih ..."  
Cf. D.Yakubovič, "Reminiscencii ...", p.114.

3. Puškin , vol. X , p.313 : letter to N.Gončarova of 4th November, 1830.

4. Puškin , vol. VI, p.122.

probably considered this method of detailed descriptions one of the "unnecessary trifles" which he criticized in the works of Scott's imitators some months earlier<sup>1</sup>, for he never applied it in his own work.

It would be ridiculous to ascribe the revealing of all the unearthly events as a dream to the impact of Sir Walter Scott, as is done by Yakubovič<sup>2</sup>, since this method was quite traditional.

The opinion has been expressed by M.Cyavlovskii<sup>3</sup> that some details in the plot of the "Snow - Storm" were "very near" to the initial point of the intrigue in "St. Ronan's Well": the secret marriage, the substitution for the bridegroom of another person, and the consequences of that mistake which determined the further development and the finale of the narrative.

It is true that all these situations constitute the elements of the plots in both works. There is, however, a great difference not only in the circumstances of this marriage and the role it plays in the plot, as rightly noted by Professor G.Struve<sup>4</sup>, but also in the idea connected with these situations. Therefore one can only subscribe to the

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1. See above p.78.

2. D.Yakubovič, "Reminiscencii ...", p.117.

3. Puškin (Cyavlovskii), vol. VII, M.1938, p.822.

4. G.Struve, "Russian friends and correspondents" ..., p.320, note 28.

opinion of G.Struve that "at best one can only speak of Puškin having received a possible additional stimulus" from reading this novel of Scott.

As has been seen, there are several points of contact between the "Tales of Belkin" and Scott's works, most of them being the methods used in writing an Introduction. As in other works of Puškin these methods were never blindly imitated by him but were thoroughly filtered through his genius. The elements of the plot assimilated by him from Scott are not only adapted to Russian circumstances but often occupy a different position in the narrative.

As has been mentioned before, a near connection exists between the "Tales of Belkin" and a fragment ascribed by Puškin to the pen of the same "author" - Belkin : " I s t o r i y a   s e l a G o r y u h i n a " ("The History of the Village Goryuhino"), also written in Autumn 1830 at Boldino <sup>1</sup> (there are two dates on the

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1. The discrepancy between the dates of birth of "both" Belkins, that of the "Tales of Belkin" and that of "The History of the Village Goryuhino", can be explained by the fact that the "History .." is an unfinished fragment and the mistake would have been corrected by Puškin had he intended to send his manuscript into print, since there can be no doubt about the identity of "both" Belkins.  
Cf. Puškin, vol. VI, p.80 ("Tales of Belkin") : the year of Belkin's birth is 1798, and vol. VI, p.173 ("The History of the Village Goryuhino") : the date of his birth is 1st April, 1801.

manuscript : 31st October and 1st November), but not published during his life-time.

The beginning of the story is, in fact, an introduction in which Belkin tells his own story and explains the reasons which made him write this particular work. In a learned way which produces a humorous effect, a list of sources follows and only then the real story begins.

The part which constitutes an introduction is written in the manner of Scott, as was pointed out by Yakubovič<sup>1</sup>, and is reminiscent of Captain Clutterbuck's "Introductory Epistle" to the "Author of Waverley"<sup>2</sup>. Though there are not many convincing parallels in the text, the structure of this introductory part recalls Captain Clutterbuck's letter. Like that, it is written in the first person and reveals a short biographical sketch, special attention being paid to the choice of the "author's" profession, his military service, the death of his parents, and, as a result of it, his return to the village<sup>3</sup>, the boredom experienced by him there<sup>4</sup>, the "author's" liking for reading, and lastly, the chance which brought into his hands a valuable manuscript.

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Reminiscencii ..." , p.180.

2. "The Monastery" , vol. I , pp. XLI-LXXIII.

3. Ibid., vol.I,p.XLV : " ... the death of an old aunt ... gave me the long-wished-for opportunity of retiring ... "

4. Puškin , vol.VI,p.177 : " ... no skoro skuka bezdeistviya stala manya mučit'"  
Compare : " ... and time, when it became a stock entirely at my own disposal, began to hang heavy on my hand"... "The Monastery", vol.I, p.XLVI.



As is obvious from the plan to this work, Puškin's initial intention was to make this manuscript belong to a priest, in which case it would be even nearer to Scott's version <sup>1</sup>. Sir Walter Scott reveals his method of creating "fortuitous circumstances" which put one into possession of a manuscript in his "Answer to the Introductory Epistle" <sup>2</sup> : " One walks on the sea-shore, and a wave casts on land a small cylindrical trunk or casket, containing a manuscript much damaged with sea-water, which is with difficulty deciphered, and so forth. Another steps into a chandler's shop, to purchase a pound of butter, and behold! the wastepaper on which it is laid is the manuscript of a cabalist. A third is so fortunate as to obtain from a woman who lets lodgings, the curious contents of an antique bureau, the property of a deceased lodger", and a little later : " ... my landlady never presented me with any manuscript save her cursed bill; and the most interesting of my discoveries in the way of wastepaper, was finding a favourite passage of one of my own novels wrapt round an ounce of snuff". Not unlike is the mode in which Belkin acquired the manuscript in "The History of the Village Goryuhino" : "A peasant woman finds in the attic a basket full of rubbish and books. In these books are pieces of paper which "not only contained notes on weather and household bills but also short historical information concerning the village Goryuhino" <sup>3</sup>.

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , p.752 : " Letopis' popa".

2. "The Monastery" , vol. I , p.LXXX.

3. Puškin , vol. VI , p.183.



It is typical of Puškin that the introductory part is concentrated though the author seems to be a little more explicit in this work than usually, since it was Belkin who was supposed to write it.

The general opinion that Puškin wanted to parody a well-known historical work (either that of Karamzin or, more likely, that of Polevoi) in his story does not invalidate the theory that the idea for doing it was borrowed by him from Scott<sup>1</sup>. Yakubovič thinks that the intention of writing the history of an unknown village had its origin in the pride of Jedediah in his Gandercleugh (the navel of Scotland). Perhaps an additional impulse was given by "the village described in the Benedictine Manuscript by the name of Kennaquhair", since the narrative of Puškin's work is composed on similar lines as the beginning of "The Monastery". Belkin makes the readers acquainted with the ethnographical and statistical conditions of Goryuhino, the dispositions and customs of its inhabitants, its geographical situation, its agriculture and climate, its population. Scott pictures the geographical situation of Kennaquhair, its agriculture and describes the "habitations" and the inhabitants of it.

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1. Sipovskii found parallels in it with the work of Rabener, "Sokraščeniye učinennoye iz letopisi derevni Kverlekvič", SPB 1764. Cf. V.V. Sipovskii, "K literaturnoi istorii 'Istorii sela Gorohina'", in: "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. I, No. 4, SPB 1906, pp. 47-58.

Yakubovič<sup>1</sup> goes as far as to believe that the superstitious legend about the demon inhabiting the moor to the East of the village<sup>2</sup> has a "striking parallel" in Scott's : " As our Glendearg did not abound in mortal visitants, superstition, that it might not be absolutely destitute of inhabitants, had peopled its recesses with beings belonging to another world"<sup>3</sup>. It must, however, be taken into consideration that a moor is the usual dwelling place of devils in Russian superstitions.

It is clear that, whether Puškin was, in fact, parodying somebody's work in his "History of the Village Goryuhino", or whether he was simply writing a humorous history of a village, Sir Walter Scott was among the literary sources used by him for writing not only his introductory part but also the narrative itself. Notwithstanding, this work was filled with Russian local colour, and might have become another masterpiece, had not Puškin left it unfinished.

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Reminiscencii ...", p.183.

2. Puškin , vol. VI p.186.

3. "The Monastery" , vol. I , p.12.

C.    O t h e r   P r o s e   W o r k s  
      a n d   D r a m a t i c   W o r k s .

As a lawyer, Sir Walter Scott was naturally interested in the literary presentation of judicial cases, and therefore often built up the plot of his narrative on some genuine case of Criminal or Civil Law.

Puškin did the same in his unfinished novel " D u b r o v s k i i " (1832-1833), which was never published during his lifetime. The kernel of this novel was based on an authentic document relating to a case about an unjustly acquired estate <sup>1</sup> . The same problem constitutes the initial point of the plot of "The Bride of Lammermoor", a work which Belinskiĭ <sup>2</sup> praised as "worthy of Shakespeare's genius" <sup>3</sup> . The resemblance between " Dubrovskii" and "The Bride of Lammermoor" was laconically pointed out by Žirmunskii <sup>4</sup> . It deserves, however, further attention and investigation.

The description of the background against which "The Bride of Lammermoor" is set could easily be applied to "Dubrovskii" also :

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1. Puškin , vol. VI , pp.756-757.

2. Belinskiĭ , vol. I , p.397.

3. Compare this opinion of Belinskiĭ with that of A.Lang expressed in his introduction to "The Bride of Lammermoor" ( vol. I , p. XVI ) : "Such is the tragedy - a fate worthy of Shakespeare's handling ... " .

4. V.M.Žirmunskii, " Puškin i zapadnyye literatury", in : " Puškin,Vremennik Puškinskoĭ komissii", M.-L.1937, p.85.

"The administration of justice in particular was infected by the most gross partiality. ... One corruption led way to others still more gross and profligate. ... the purse of the wealthy was too often believed to be thrown into the scale to weigh down the cause of the poor litigant." <sup>1</sup> These conditions are the reason for one of the antagonist's losing his property to the other. Puškin, however, places the episode of the illegally lost property in the centre of his plot and puts it into the body of his narrative. In order to strengthen the realistic effect and convince the readers he quotes fully the decision of the court acquired by him from the authentic document.

The injustice done to one of the parties results in a feud. Thus the reasons for this traditional antagonism of the two families in "Dubrovskii" and "The Bride of Lammermoor" are identical.

In both novels the shock of losing his property is too great for the old proprietor, and he dies. "The thread of life which had been long wasting, gave way during a fit of violent and impotent fury, with which he was assailed on receiving the news of the loss of a cause ..." <sup>2</sup> The old Dubrovskii is attacked by a fit of madness after hearing the verdict. Though such fits did not recur, his health failed. The scene of his death

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1. "The Bride of Lammermoor" , vol. I , p.25.

2. Ibid., p.28.

is reminiscent of a similar episode in "Guy Mannering"<sup>1</sup>. Like Mr. Bertram, the old Dubrovskii sees the man who was the cause of his ruin. "He recognized Kiril Petrovič and a terrible alarm appeared on his face ... His son ... raised his head and was struck by his appearance. The patient pointed with his finger towards the yard with a look of horror and rage. He was hurriedly gathering up the flaps of his dressing-gown, intending to get up from the arm-chair, he rose a little ... and suddenly fell."<sup>2</sup>

From the point of view of the feelings this death evokes in the young Dubrovskii there is a parallel to this scene in "The Bride of Lammermoor". - "His son witnessed his dying agonies, and heard the curses which he breathed against his adversary, as if they had conveyed to him a legacy of vengeance"<sup>3</sup>.

However, as in the case of Master of Ravenswood, all the plans of vengeance of the young Dubrovskii are never fulfilled, due to an attachment which develops in him towards his enemy's daughter. "It was for your sake that I abjured these purposes of vengeance, though I scarce knew that such was the argument by which I was conquered, until I saw you once more and became conscious of the influence you

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1. "Guy Mannering" , vol. I , pp.126-127.

Cf. D.Yakubovič, "Mariya Šonina kak etap istoriko-sociologičeskogo romana", in : "Zven'ya", vol.3/4, M.1934, p.166.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.243.

3. "The Bride of Lammermoor" ,vol. I , p.28.

possessed over me" <sup>1</sup>, says the Master of Ravenswood to Lucy. "Everything is finished. I have forgiven him. Listen, you have saved him", explains Dubrovskii to Mar'ya Kirilovna : "I was walking round his house, fixing the place where the fire should flare up, wherefrom to enter his bedroom, how to cut him off from flight. At that moment you passed by me like a heavenly vision, and my heart was subdued. I understood that the house inhabited by you is sacred, that not a single creature connected with you by the ties of blood can be subjected to my curse. I renounced vengeance as madness ..." <sup>2</sup>. Thus, as the result of love's prevailing in its conflict with vengeance, both heroes give up their plans of avenging their fathers' and their own ruin.

However, having failed in vengeance, both heroes fail, at the end, in their love too. Just as the self-assured mother in "The Bride of Lammermoor" insists on her daughter's marriage with a man she does not love, the opinionated Troyekurov presses his daughter to marry the old prince against her will. In both novels help in the person of the real lover is too late in arriving, and the ceremony is performed. However, while Scott pictures the tragedy of Lucy, Puškin leaves his poor Mar'ya Kirilovna to her fate. "I agreed, I have sworn ... I waited until the last minute", she says to Dubrovskii. In this respect Mar'ya Kirilovna is a stronger character and recalls

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1. "The Bride of Lammermoor", vol. I, p.266.

2. Puškin, vol. VI, p.286.

another heroine of Puškin - Tat'yana <sup>1</sup>.

The idea of portraying Dubrovskii as a robber and an honourable outlaw was probably inspired by "Rinaldo Rinaldini" by H.A.Vulpus (1762-1827). There is a reference to this work in the text of "Dubrovskii" <sup>2</sup>. An additional stimulus might have come from "Rob Roy".

Puškin makes use of local colour in his novel, describing the "noble entertainments of a Russian gentleman" <sup>3</sup> as well as picturing the poor state of legal conditions in Russia ("... everybody will be pleased to see one of the methods by which we in Russia are able to lose a property to the possession of which we have an undoubted right" <sup>4</sup>), and he demonstrates his statement by quoting the decision of the court.

Thus in "Dubrovskii" an actual document is the kernel of the plot, whereas in "Kapitanskaya dočka" <sup>two</sup> 2 anecdotes occupy this position. In both cases, however, "factual" information forms the kernel of the plot, and this is then developed on the basis of literary precedents from Sir Walter Scott's works. Whether by chance or not, this document pictures a state of legal affairs similar to those described in "The Bride of Lammermoor".

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"No ya drugomu ot dani  
I budu vek yemu verna ..."

2. Puškin , vol. VI , p.292.

3 .Puškin , vol. VI , p.262.

4. Puškin , vol. VI , p.227.

Though "Dubrevskii" is free from the somewhat fantastic atmosphere of "The Bride of Lammermoor", there is in it more of the romantically melodramatic elements than in most of Puškin's works. One must, however, take into consideration that the work was not finished, and might have acquired quite a different form in its final stage.

Yakubovič thinks that, in planning to write a story "M a r i y a Š o n i n g", a short rough sketch of which was written about the same time as "The Captain's Daughter", Puškin received inspiration from "The Heart of Midlothian"<sup>1</sup>. The plot of the projected story was written down by Puškin in a short synopsis in French<sup>2</sup>, and is based on a genuine trial of Maria Schoning and Anna Harlin described in "Causes célèbres étrangères publiées en France pour la première fois et traduites de l'italien, de l'allemand, etc. par une société de jurisconsultes et de gens de lettres" (Paris). It seems, however, too daring to come to any conclusions merely from a plan of a work, since the existing fragment does not touch the central problem at all. Moreover, it is clear from the outline that the situation into which Puškin intended to place his heroine was quite different from that of Effie Deans.

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Mariya Šoning ..." , pp.146-167.

2. Puškin , vol. VI , pp.779-780.



Scott's impact on Puškin's dramatic works was not great. It was noticed by Bulgarin, a contemporary of Puškin, that "B o r i s G o d u n o v" (1825) contained a scene which was reminiscent of "The Lady of the Lake"<sup>1</sup>. Bulgarin was referring to the scene with the expiring steed. The similarity between the two scenes<sup>2</sup> seems, however, to be confined to the laments over the dying animal.

It may be that the conversation of Maržeret and Rozen<sup>3</sup> owes something to the foreign speech of M.le Comte de Beaujeu<sup>4</sup>.

In another dramatic work by Puškin some impact of Sir Walter Scott was also noticed by Russian scholars quite a while ago. This is "S k u p o ĭ r y c a r'" (1830), in which Galahov found a situation similar to "The Fair Maid of Perth"<sup>5</sup>. The episode Galahov refers to is the scene of the miser Baron admiring his wealth, which he had hoarded in six trunks and to which he has just added a new handful of gold. It is the power his wealth gives him which he admires. Everything is under his power; by it he is able to govern

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1. "Severnaya pčela", 1831, nr.266, quoted from "Puškin i Severnaya pčela", in: "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", nr.23/24, P.1916.

2. Puškin, vol. V, p.306.

3. Puškin, vol. V, pp.295-296.

4. "Waverley", vol. II, pp.231-232.

Cf. Puškin, vol.VII (ed.D.Yakubovič): Dramatičeskiye proizvedeniya, L.1935, p.497.

5. A.D.Galahov, op. cit., pp.26-27.

the world and in his imagination he sees everybody subjected to it <sup>1</sup>. There is no doubt that this scene is reminiscent of Henbane Dwining admiring the hoards of gold, to which he had just added the gold received for his various services <sup>2</sup>. "Henbane Dwining ..." he says to himself, " ... is no silly miser ..., it is the power with which they (the hoards of gold) endow the possessor which makes him thus adore them. What is there that these put not within your command?" Like Puškin's miser, he goes on picturing the scenes of the possible use of his power.

The commentator on Puškin's dramatic works in the Academy edition of 1935 expands further the impact of "The Fair Maid of Perth" on "The Covetous Knight" and inter alia finds that the suggestion of Solomon to poison Al'ber's father is reminiscent of the hints made by Ramorny to the young prince concerning the possibility of putting an end to the life of his uncle <sup>3</sup>. It is also possible that the portrayal of the Jew was suggested to Puškin by Isaac in "Ivanhoe".

It is interesting that for some reason or other Puškin gave a subtitle to "Skupoĭ rycar'" : " Scenes from the Čenstonian tragicomedy 'The Covetous Knight'" <sup>4</sup>. He might have had in mind W. Shenstone (1714-1763) among whose works, however, there is no

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1. Puškin , vol. V , p.342.

2. "The Fair Maid of Perth", vol. II , pp.77-78.

3. Puškin , vol.VII (ed.D.Yakubovič) : Dramatičeskiye proizvedeniya, L.1935 , p.516.

4. Puškin , vol. V , p.331.

tragicomedy "The Covetous Knight"<sup>1</sup>. Since Puškin's memory was too good to allow a mistake of this kind, it seems more likely that it was another attempt at some sort of literary mystification.

Summarising what has been said about the impact of Sir Walter Scott on Puškin's works one may come to the following conclusions :

1. It was in Puškin's prose works that this impact was of the most importance ;
2. Puškin learned a lot from Scott's methods of realistic presentation but applied them in varied forms and with "grading" (i.e. modifying them to suit his purpose) ;
3. Notwithstanding the great difference, the skeletons of the plots of "The Captain's Daughter" and "Dubrovskii" were constructed from similar situations in Scott's novels ;
4. Some episodes from various plots of Scott's novels were assimilated by Puškin, though their place in the narrative and their meaning for it are not always identical with their original role ;
5. Puškin borrowed from Scott's characters only those few traits which corresponded to the Russian nature and to Russian conditions ;

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1. E.Simmons, "Pushkin and Shenstone", in : " Modern Language Notes", vol. XLV, November 1930, No.7 , pp.454-457.

6. There is in Puškin's work no trace of 'imitation' of Scott, since all the elements taken from Scott were thoroughly filtered through Puškin's genius : they were indeed 'assimilated' - absorbed into the system and made part of it.

VI.

S I R   W A L T E R   S C O T T  
A N D   O T H E R   R U S S I A N   A U T H O R S.

1. I. I. K o z l o v (1779 - 1840).

The blind Russian poet I.I.Kozlov was a great admirer of Sir Walter Scott. According to Žukovskii<sup>1</sup>, Kozlov was supposed to know all Scott's poems by heart. Even if this statement was an exaggeration, it is sufficient to show that Kozlov's knowledge of Scott's poetry was extremely good. Besides he knew Scott in the original, having learned English after he had lost his sight.

It was the ballad form that Kozlov adopted from Scott, and in his own poem, dedicated to Scott<sup>2</sup>, he stressed the typical elements of the "Scottish Bard's" mastery. Though not remarkable from the literary point of view, Kozlov's poem contains most interesting evidence of the views of one of the leading literary persons of that period, and contributes much to one's understanding of the Russian concept of Scott's works in the 19th century. It is also typical of the affectionate feeling of the Russians for the Scottish author, for their "animated delight" in his works. A touching affection for Scott and a most sincere admiration of him are noticeable features of this poem.

Kozlov felt that the light, yet wonderfully true genius of Scott had sweetened his own sorrowful existence. Scott had the

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1. V.A.Žukovskii, Sobraniye sočineniĭ, SPB 1869, vol. VI, p.181 :  
"O stihotvoreniiyah I.I.Kozlova".
  2. I.Kozlov, Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ, SPB 1902, pp.204-208 :  
"K Val'ter Skottu".

art of portraying, in their full human stature, people of a past age. He could describe the life they led in their old castles (the castles seem to be inseparable from Scott in Russian eyes). Kozlov stressed also the moral side of Scott's works. Sir Walter Scott, he thought, was able to show the world the happy fate of those who loved everything worth loving, who wanted to enlighten their minds with divine truth and knowledge. Like Žukovskii,<sup>1</sup> Kozlov was fascinated by Scott's personality: beloved and respected in his own family, Scott became a national "gem" in his free country, and he, Kozlov, often escaped from his gloomy and heavy meditations by flying in thought to Abbotsford. A touching description of such an imaginary visit follows. The poem ends with a humble request to Scott to forgive the author his audacious compliments and a short mention of his own misfortune and love of everything beautiful.

There is an indication in this poem that even if Kozlov "knew all Scott's poems by heart" he was just as well versed in Žukovskii's translation from "Marmion".<sup>2</sup> While mentioning some of Scott's heroes he speaks of a charming but unhappy page Matil'da - a name given by Žukovskii to Constance de Beverley.

Another poem by Kozlov under the title "Beverlei, Šotlandskaya ballada"<sup>3</sup> was erroneously considered by E. Simmons to be a free rendering of a ballad from "one of Scott's novels".<sup>4</sup>

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1. See below p.178-179.

2. See below p.184 ff.

3. Kozlov, pp.244-245.

4. E.J.Simmons, English Literature and Culture in Russia 1553-1840, (Harvard University Press) Cambridge 1935, p.246.

It appears, however, to be a paraphrase of "Lady Heron's Song", - "Lochinvar" (Canto Fifth of "Marmion"<sup>1</sup>). It was not inappropriate for Kozlov to give his hero the name of Beverleĭ, since there are similar traits in the character of Lochinvar and that of Waverley<sup>2</sup>. A handsome young knight, faithful in love and daring in battle, Beverleĭ is late in reaching Neterbi (Scott's Netherby). His fiancée has in the meantime been persuaded to marry another man, and Beverleĭ arrives during her wedding feast. After a not very friendly reception by the bride's father, Beverleĭ dances with Matil'da (Scott's Ellen), both go out, leap onto horse and ride away. Nobody sees the bride again.

It was noticed by Rayevskii, as early as in 1825, that Kozlov's poem "Č e r n e c"<sup>3</sup> ("The Monk"), written in 1824, was partly adapted from Scott. This opinion was expressed in Rayevskii's letter to Puškin of 10th May, 1825<sup>4</sup>. In fact, Kozlov finished his Byronic poem with a paraphrase from Canto Second of "Marmion".

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1. Scott's Poetical Works, p.103.

2. There is a situation similar to that described in "Lochinvar" in one of Scott's novels, "The Bride of Lammermoor", which takes, however, a quite different turn.

3. Kozlov, pp.13-38.

4. Puškin, Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ (ed.M.Gor'kiĭ etc.), vol. 13 (ed.D.Bлагої), L.1937, p.173.



While in "Marmion" they ... " bade the passing knell to toll for welfare of a parting soul" <sup>1</sup> , the "holy father" in Kozlov's poem gives orders to ring the church bells after the monk has died. In both poems the "midnight wave" carries this sound to distant places. In both poems it is heard by a hermit. The peasant in "Marmion" ,however, is replaced by a fisher in Kozlov's poem. Nor is there Scott's stag but a mother with her baby and a married couple who are "to hear that sound so dull and stern".

Thus, the ballad form and one or two themes and characters represent the contribution of Sir Walter Scott to the poetry of Kozlov, who had a great admiration for Scott as a person.

With these poems ends this short survey of the effect produced by Sir Walter Scott on the poetry of Kozlov, a poet who during his lifetime enjoyed great popularity , perhaps partly as a result of his tragic illness . Kozlov was one of the first Russians to introduce Byronic elements into his poetry, and one of the very few to acquaint Russians with Robert Burns <sup>2</sup> .

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1. Scott's Poetical Works, p.76 : " Marmion".

2. See below p. 248-250.

2. V. A. Ž u k o v s k i ĭ (1783-1852).

There is in the lives of Sir Walter Scott and Žukovskii this parallel : both translated the same work at the beginning of their literary careers - Bürger's ballad "Lenore". There is also a certain parallel in the character of their literary creations. Both are Romantics with a tendency towards classicism, both are conservative in their outlook <sup>1</sup>. Even more, there is a certain likeness in their characters. It is little wonder that Žukovskii admired so much the personality of Walter Scott, his "light, pure, childlike, believing soul", since he himself possessed the same qualities.

In a letter written to Gogol' in 1847, that is at a time when the vogue of Walter Scott in Russia was already over, Žukovskii expressed his extremely high opinion of Walter Scott <sup>2</sup>. He called him a "poet in the real sense of the word", who would live for ever as a benefactor of the human soul. He stressed the manysided nature of his genius. Walter Scott, he said, touched everything from the very low and ugly to the most elevated and divine, and all this he rendered with simplicity and accuracy, he nowhere offended the canons of beauty, but in everything satisfied the requirements of art. One gives

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1. Cf. M.Ehrhard, V.A.Joukovsky et le préromantisme russe, Paris 1938, p.267.

2. Žukovskii , vol. VI , p.730.

oneself up to the poetry of Walter Scott without any hesitation, one believes as he does in things sacred, loves the good, comprehends the beautiful. He is, says Žukovskii, like a faithful guide who leads the readers through a crazy crowd. He presents evil and perversity in all their nakedness but they are not infectious in his presence. Žukovskii considered the aim of an artistic work to be as follows : the reader is astonished, horrified, laughs and weeps, he has enjoyed the beauty of a poetic creation, but at the same time his spirit is full of satisfaction of a different kind - his spirit is completely calm, as if assured that all that is good in it is true. This sentimentally moral approach is typical of Žukovskii, the idealist.

Having held such a high opinion of Sir Walter Scott, being, like him, interested in ballads, being probably the best translator in Russian literature <sup>1</sup>, Žukovskii naturally enough has reproduced some of Scott's works.

And, truly, we find that as early as 1815 Žukovskii made a synopsis of "The Lady of the Lake". To my knowledge, these notes are not published, and are claimed to have been discovered by D.Yakubovič in Žukovskii's note books in the Leningrad Public

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1. M.Baring went so far as to say that Žukovskii was the best translator in world's literature. Cf. Hon.M.Baring, An Outline of Russian literature, London 1944 , p.53.

Library <sup>1</sup>.

In 1822 Žukovskii translated "The Eve of St. John". The publication of that ballad was at first forbidden by the Russian censor, and was allowed only after Žukovskii had altered some of the verses and the title, and called his ballad " Z a m o k S m a l' g o l' m " ( *The Castle of Smallholm* "The Smalholm Castle" ) <sup>2</sup>. This is an excellent translation of Scott's ballad. Žukovskii followed Scott almost verse by verse ; nevertheless, his poem flows freely, swiftly and independently. He reproduced fully not only the spirit of that ballad, but even largely its form. It is written in regular anapaests, using a masculine rhyme. This metre, unknown before in Russian poetry, suits the Russian language perfectly, and at the same time corresponds to the iambic anapaestic metre of Scott's ballad. <sup>3</sup> Like Scott's original, Žukovskii's style is laconic, his sentences short. He uses the same proper names and even tries to retain the exclamations and repetitions of the original.

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", in : "Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR", 1935, No.3, footnote to p.250.
  2. Žukovskii, vol. II , pp.265-273. Cf. also Ehrhard, op. cit., p.267.
  3. Ehrhard suggested that it might be the influence of Scott's idea of using one type of rhyme only that made Žukovskii attempt in the same year to write his poem "The Sea" in feminine rhymes. Cf. Ehrhard, op. cit., p.375.

In one place, however, he seems to have either misunderstood or purposely altered the meaning of the original. The line : " at the lone midnight hour, when bad spirits have power" was translated by : " the midnight hour is favourable to us" <sup>1</sup>. There are some nuances at the end of the poem, altered by Žukovskii in order to satisfy the censor.

It seems that the translation of this ballad, which belongs to the masterpieces of translation in Russian literature, was made from the original. It is known that Žukovskii knew English, and possessed Scott's works in English. It is certainly possible, even likely, that he also consulted a French translation.

Puškin wrote to Vyazemskii on the 11th June, 1831, telling him the literary news <sup>2</sup>. Among other things he mentioned that Žukovskii had translated Walter Scott's unfinished poem "The Pilgrim", and attached his own ending to it, and that the result was - "simply charming".

There is no poem by Sir Walter Scott with the title "The Pilgrim", - there is one, however, called "The Palmer", and another "The Gray Brother", a fragment which, its content suggests, could have been called "The Pilgrim". As it appears that among Žukovskii's published works there is no rendering of Scott's poem "The Palmer", one must conclude that it was about the translation of Scott's fragment "The Gray Brother" that Puškin wrote to Vyazemskii.

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1. "No polunočnyĭ čas blagosklonen dlya nas ..."

2. Puškin , vol. X , p.354.

Indeed, in that same year <sup>1</sup> Žukovskii wrote a poem with the title " P o k a y a n i y e " ("Penitence") <sup>2</sup> on the theme of "The Gray Brother".

The beginning of this poem is a translation of the first part of "The Gray Brother". After being sent away from mass by the Pope to enable him to proceed in his religious performance, the sinful pilgrim returns to his native Scotland. At this point, however, Žukovskii introduces an original passage telling how the pilgrim said good-bye to his vassals and became a hermit. While Scott spoke only of the "ruin'd grange", the roof of which was "scathed with fire", Žukovskii tells us of the pilgrim's great sin of burning alive in a chapel his beloved with her newly wedded husband. He describes the torments of the sinner, and, following Scott, makes his pilgrim visit daily the place of his crime :

"And never a path, from day to day,  
The pilgrim's footsteps range,  
Save but the solitary way,  
To Burndale ruin'd grange" <sup>3</sup>,

and : "And thither he comes, where for years  
Each day for his torment he came" <sup>4</sup>.

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1. In some editions given as written in 1829.

2. Žukovskii , vol. II , pp.408-416.

3. Scott's Poetical Works , p.449.

4. Žukovskii , vol. II , p.414 : "Prihodit tuda on, kuda prihodil  
Už gođy vsednevno dlya muki ..."

There one day he meets a monk. The conversation with this monk is again adapted from Scott, and is really a translation of the conversation with the Gray Brother. But the poem ends in a different way. While Scott's sinner received absolution from the Gray Brother, who was

" ... sent from a distant clime,  
.....  
... to absolve a foul, foul crime,  
Done here 'twixt night and day.  
The pilgrim kneel'd him on the sand,  
And thus began his saye -  
When on his neck an ice-cold hand  
Did that Gray Brother laye." ,

Žukovskii's sinner begins his confession, but nobody knows what he says. The moon alone was a witness of this scene, and it seemed that in its beams two light shadows were flying. There is a legend, however, that the pilgrim entered the church, received Holy Communion, and disappeared.

This poem by Žukovskii, as we have seen, is neither a translation, nor an imitation of "The Gray Brother"; it is rather an independent poem on Walter Scott's theme. Žukovskii has completed in his own way what was left as a fragment by Sir Walter Scott. The end of the poem is characteristic of Žukovskii's romantic love of the miraculous. Žukovskii also believed that a long penitence would bring pardon even to a sinner whose sins could not be forgiven by the Pope himself.

Quite different in character is another work by Žukovskii - his rendering of Canto Second of "Marmion" - "The Convent" <sup>1</sup>. He gave it the title "S u d v p o d z e m e l' y e" ("The Trial in the Vault") <sup>2</sup>. This work cannot be regarded as very successful, and is far weaker than the two previous ones, especially "The Castle Smal'gol'm". Prof. Veselovskii was right in remarking that it was only the setting, the milieu of the story, that were retained by Žukovskii <sup>3</sup>.

Under the pen of Žukovskii the poem lost all its dramatic effect, and became a tedious ballad. Žukovskii retained the beginning of the Canto, the journey of the nuns to the trial, the abbess's story, the nuns' arrival at St. Cuthbert's Holy Isle, the legends about the Saints. But he deprived his Matil'da of the strong character of Constance de Beverley.

While Scott's Constance de Beverley bravely faced her trial :

"Her look composed, and steady eye,  
Bespoke a matchless constancy ;  
And there she stood so calm and pale,"

while she was resolved and constant, - Žukovskii's Matil'da was frightened, almost dead with fear of her approaching end <sup>4</sup>. She

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1. Scott's Poetical Works , pp.69-76.

2. Žukovskii , vol. II , pp.416-436.

3. Akad. A.N.Veselovskii, V.A.Žukovskii , poeziya čuvstva i serdečnogo vobraženiya, P.1918 , p.462.

4. Žukovskii , vol. II , pp.434 : "Stoit, počti umerščvlena

Terzan'yem blizkogo konca .."



faced her trial alone (in "Marmion" : " ... Before them stood a guilty pair"), and, instead of Constance's garment of a page, she wore a white frock soiled with blood, and her face was hidden under a shroud - a figure from a ballad. To explain the circumstances of her flight from the convent Žukovskii introduced a vague passage describing her escape. Žukovskii completely omitted Constance's speech, her "avenging storm", thus depriving the poem of its most dramatic element. While the look of Constance was fixed "and stern her air" for she was able to "suffer and be still" - the frightened Matil'da trembled, fought, and shouted, when taken to the place of execution.

Consciously or not, Žukovskii did not reproduce in his crippled fragment the spirit of the original, which was so excellently done in his translation of "The Eve of St. John". "Sud v pozemel'ye" was written while staying in Switzerland in 1832 (the year of Scott's death). For his rendering Žukovskii probably used the copy of Scott's works in English, as is claimed by D.Yakubovič to be obvious from his notes made on a copy of "Marmion", now in the Museum of Onegin in The Puškin House in the Academy of Sciences of USSR <sup>1</sup>. It may well be that he has also consulted a French translation.

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1. D.Yakubovič, " Rol' Francii v znakomstve Rossii s romanami Val'ter Skotta", in : " Yazyk i literatura " , vol. V , 1930, footnote to p. 174.

Summing up the role of Scott's poetical works in the creations of Žukovskii, one comes to the conclusion that it was mostly the simple but colourful narrative element of Scott's ballads that appealed to Žukovskii. Being a great admirer of German ballads Žukovskii searched for similar traits in the works of Sir Walter also. However, he consciously avoided all the dramatic elements in Scott's works.

3. M. Y. L e r m o n t o v (1814-1841).

Lermontov was no exception to the general tendency of Russian authors of that period to seek inspiration in foreign literature, to learn from the achievements of foreign authors. This was soon noticed by Russian critics. As early as 1830 the young poet complained about the "poverty" of Russian literature. "Our literature is so poor", he wrote in his note-book, "that I cannot borrow anything from it"<sup>1</sup>. The only exceptions were, in his opinion, Russian folk-songs.

Lermontov's literary taste was a product of that time : he admired Byron, greatly respected Shakespeare, knew Schiller, Scott, Goethe, and others. The impressions made on Lermontov from reading these authors were digested, and partly assimilated in his own works.

There can be no doubt that Lermontov must have known Scott's works well. He was particularly interested in Scotland as the country of his romantic ancestors. He was able to read English, and had lived through the period of Scott's greatest popularity in Russia. There is unfortunately no catalogue of the contents

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1. M.Y.Lermontov, Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ (ed.B.M.Eĭnenbaum), vol. V , M.-L.1937, p.350.

of Lermontov's library as in the case of Puškin. We have, however, a witness in Šan-Gireĭ, the poet's relation, who remembered Lermontov's reading Scott<sup>1</sup> and Byron. Being interested in his Scottish ancestors and having read Scott's poetry, Lermontov probably knew his ballad "Thomas the Rhymer", in which the Scottish bard Learmont is depicted. It is, however, difficult to imagine that he knew of the existence of a Scottish poet, John Learmont<sup>2</sup>.

The first direct reference to Sir Walter Scott in Lermontov's works occurs in 1830, in "Menschen und Leidenschaften", in the conversation between the two sisters about "Woodstock"<sup>3</sup>. As late as 1839, that is two years before his death, when writing "A Hero of Our Times", Lermontov put a book by Scott into the hands of his hero Pečorin on the night before the latter's duel<sup>4</sup>. Fascinated by the magical conception of "Šotlandskiye Puritane", Pečorin forgot about the duel. The title of the book read by him shows that Lermontov had in mind either a French or a Russian translation of "Old Mortality". Though Lermontov himself was able to read Scott in the original, it was more appropriate for his hero to read in a translation, probably in French, perhaps in Russian. It is worth mentioning in this connection that a draft of this part of "Geroĭ našego vremeni" suggests that Lermontov at first intended to let Pečorin read a different book, but in this

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1. See above p.34.

2. "Poems, pastoral, satirical, tragic and comic", by John Learmont  
Edinburgh 1791.

3. Lermontov, vol. IV, pp.133-134.

4. Lermontov, vol. V, p.297.

case also his choice fell on Sir Walter Scott : it was "The Fortunes of Nigel" <sup>1</sup>. A supplementary exclamation followed in this draft : "Is it possible that the Scottish bard is paid in the next world for every moment of consolation that his book gives" <sup>2</sup>, This expression should probably have a "not" in front of the verb "paid". It would then have more sense, and its tenor would be more appropriate to Pečorin's absorption in the plot of the book. It is possible, however, that Lermontov's intention was to emphasize the word "every". In that case the interpretation could be : " Does Heaven really reward Scott for every moment of consolation given by his book" <sup>3</sup>. It is possible to express different opinions about the reason for Lermontov's omitting this exclamation in the fair copy but none of them would be more than a guess.

This enthusiastic exclamation seems at first glance to conflict slightly with the opinion expressed by Lermontov to Belinskiĭ, when the latter visited Lermontov during his arrest in 1840. This contradiction vanishes, however, after a more attentive consideration. "I was glad to distraction", wrote Belinskiĭ to the publicist Botkin <sup>4</sup>, "when he (Lermontov) told me that Cooper stood higher than Scott , that his novels were deeper and of a greater artistic integrity".

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1. Lermontov, vol. V , p.476.

2. Lermontov, vol. V , p.476 : " Neuželi Šotlandskomu bardu na tom svete platyat za každuyu otradnuyu minutu, kotoruyu darit ego kniga".

3. I am indebted for this indication to D.Ward, M.A., to whom I express my gratitude.

4. V.G.Belinskiĭ, Izbrannyye sočineniya (ed.F.Golovenčenko), M.-L.1940, p.994.

This statement, at first sight unfavourable to Sir Walter Scott, must, however, be considered only as a relative appraisal of both authors, and it would be unjustified to jump to the conclusion that Lermontov, or Belinskiĭ, disliked the Scottish author. Besides, as we have seen, Sir Walter Scott ranked extremely high in the opinion of Belinskiĭ himself <sup>1</sup>.

I.I.Panayev <sup>2</sup>, describing the same meeting between Lermontov and Belinskiĭ, put stronger expressions into the mouth of Lermontov. "I dislike Walter-Scott", he was supposed to have said, "There is little poetry in him. He is dry". The accuracy of this report, however, has been questioned by some Russian scholars.

It should also not be forgotten that the meeting between Lermontov and Belinskiĭ took place at a time when Sir Walter Scott's popularity was fading in Russia, and the Scottish bard was being replaced by other literary idols. His works no longer struck the Russians as something new and unknown. They had learnt from him what, in their opinion, was worth learning and began to turn to other teachers. Therefore a more critical attitude replaced the former unlimited admiration. Some of Scott's peculiarities were now regarded as

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1. See above pp. 55-60.

2. I.I.Panayev, *Literaturnyye vospominaniya* (ed. Ivanov-Razumnik), L.1928, p.221.

shortcomings. His main defect in Russian eyes was the length of his works. While Puškin's heroine found superfluous pages in Scott's works, Lermontov hinted at the same quality in his "Vadim" (1832) : " To describe all their (the people in the crowd) opinions", he said, "I should have to possess the talent of Walter Scott, and the patience of his readers" <sup>1</sup>. In the same sentence, however, we see Lermontov's appreciation of Scott's talent : " ... to describe all their opinions, to tell them in an objective impartial manner, to make the reader himself choose with whom he wants to sympathise, - for this Scott's talent was required, his mastery of description was essential".

There was not much in common between the restless, passionate and "lyrical" nature of the young Lermontov, and the quiet, objective, well-balanced, "epic" nature of Sir Walter Scott. It is impossible therefore to speak of deep spiritual connection between Lermontov and Sir Walter Scott, such as existed between Lermontov and Lord Byron. Nevertheless Scott was undoubtedly one of Lermontov's teachers, and a source of many borrowings. Contrary to the usual phenomenon, in the case of Lermontov, Scott's poetical legacy was more important than his prose.

While Duchesne stressed in his work on Lermontov the importance of Scott's narrative for him, and thought that Lermontov learned a lot from Sir Walter Scott about the development of plot <sup>2</sup>, Kotlyarevskii

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1. Lermontov, vol. V , p.42 (my italics).

2. E.Duchesne, Michel Iurievitch Lermontoff, Sa vie et ses oeuvres, Paris 1910, p.294.

limited the impact of Sir Walter Scott (and F.Cooper) on Lermontov to the development of his interest in the knightly legends, in the mysterious and fantastic, in the "romantic", and came to the conclusion that the readiness with which Lermontov absorbed this influence, the speed with which he assimilated it, and the power with which he developed it, were a proof of his natural preparedness for such moods <sup>1</sup>.

This is undoubtedly an understatement. The impact of Scott on Lermontov was far more complex than this. It was not the romantic side of Scott's works alone that appealed to Lermontov, but also the composition of his works, his colourful descriptions, his characters, his realistic manner of presentation, the interest evoked by his plots. Lermontov's passionate, uneasy nature sought in literature for support for himself in his combat with the problems that troubled him, and from this point of view the strong character of Lord Marmion was of particular interest to him.

A long Caucasian poem "I z m a i l B e ĭ", written by Lermontov in 1832 when he was 18 years old, is a typical attempt to create an original work on the basis of a complicated mixture of his own and alien elements. In this work the borrowings from various authors are so interwoven, both among themselves and with Lermontov's own ideas, that it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to speak with certainty about the literary sources of one or

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1. N.Kotlyarevskii, M.Y.Lermontov, Ličnost' poeta i ego proizvedeniya, SPB 1905, p.69.



another episode. It is like a fine jig-saw puzzle, constructed of various pieces, but shaped and painted by Lermontov's own hand. Nevertheless, whatever its literary sources are, the development of the plot as a whole, and the strength and sharpness of the ideas and descriptions are original, and show in the young author not only an extraordinary literary talent but also a capacity for deep thought.

Lermontov's favourite author was Lord Byron. With him he had indeed much in common, and "Izmail Beï" is usually regarded as having been written under Byron's influence. However, Byron was not the only author to leave noticeable traces in this work. Sir Walter Scott must also be mentioned in this connection, with particular reference to "The Lady of the Lake" and "Marmion"<sup>1</sup>. The borrowed episodes and characters in this poem are interlaced and mixed together in a way typical of Lermontov. Thus Zara, in her appearance as a page, reminds one of Constance, though at the end of the poem she is a parallel to Clara. The Russian soldier appears in a situation similar to that of Fitz-James on the one hand, and fulfils a function like that of De Wilton on the other.

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1. A detailed study on this question was made by D.Yakubovič ("Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", in : "Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR", No.3, 1935), who, however, sometimes tends to exaggerate Scott's influence on this poem.

"The Lady of the Lake" was very popular in Russia, especially in its French translation. The first Russian translation of it was made in 1827. Many references to it occur in correspondence and articles of that time, and there is no reason to suppose that Lermontov, who was well versed in Western literature, would not have read it. Even more, the context of his borrowings, as we will see, indicates that he read it in the original. It is also natural that, wanting to depict scenes from the Caucasus in "Izmail Beï", Lermontov should have turned to one of Scott's poems containing the most colourful descriptions of the Highlands. Curious as it is, there was a certain parallel between the Caucasus and the Scottish Highlands in Russian imagination. Different as they are, both are mountainous places with a peculiar romantic character, inhabited by an unsubdued people. Writing to Sir Walter Scott about "St. Ronan's Well", a novel in which the types of a Scottish spa are pictured, Denis Davydov expressed the hope that he would see some time a literary rendering of a Caucasian spa<sup>1</sup>, thus, probably unconsciously, expressing the general feeling of a parallel between Scotland and the Caucasus<sup>2</sup>.

There were many good reasons why Lermontov should turn his attention to the Caucasus, since he admired it from his childhood onwards, but it was also natural that when picturing it he should have turned to the descriptions of the Highlands and their people in the works of Scott.

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1. G. Struve, "Russian friends ...", p.

2. His wish was later fulfilled by Lermontov in his "Geroï našego vremeni".

The same episode of the stag that was used by Puškin in his fragment "Šumit kustarnik"<sup>1</sup> attracted Lermontov's attention also, and undoubtedly inspired his descriptions of the stag in the mountains of the Caucasus. It is more reminiscent of Scott than of Puškin and is not the only example of Lermontov's borrowings from "The Lady of the Lake". It is also rather doubtful whether Puškin's unfinished poem, found in a rough copy after his death, could have been known to Lermontov.

A sleeping stag<sup>2</sup> hears suddenly the well-known barking of the hounds. He slowly raises his antlers, breathes for a moment the fresh air (in "The Lady of the Lake" : " A moment snuff'd the tainted gale,"<sup>3</sup>); like his Scottish brother he shakes off the dew from his mighty shoulder (in Scott : " The dew-drops from his flanks he shook;.."); and then springs suddenly with one jump over the rock, like his prototype (" With one brave bound the copse he clear'd,.."). These parallels are so obvious that there can be no doubt that it is the Scottish stag who has once again made his appearance in Russian literature.

Another episode in "Izmail Beĭ" - the meeting of Izmail and the Russian soldier at a watch-fire, was fairly early recognized by Russian scholars as an assimilation from "The Lady of the Lake". Spasovič was the first to notice the resemblance. He, however, made

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1. See above p.92.

2. Lermontov, vol. III , p.223 : " Izmail Beĭ".

3. Scott's Poetical Works , pp.133-134.

his statement without going into any details <sup>1</sup>. Duchesne agreed with him <sup>2</sup>. Both authors regarded this borrowing as insignificant in the development of the plot.

Fitz-James meets a mountaineer, wrapped in his plaid, sitting beside the "red and clear" embers of a watch-fire.

"Thy name and purpose! Saxon, stand!"

"A stranger." "What dost thou require?" -

"Rest and a guide, and food and fire.

My life's beset, my path is lost,

The gale has chill'd my limbs with frost." <sup>3</sup>

A similar situation takes place in "Izmail Beĭ". The tired Izmail lies down near a watch-fire. Suddenly he notices a ghost-like stranger standing near the fire : "What do you want from me?" - "Hospitality and protection", replies the stranger fearlessly , "I have lost my way in the mountains, the Circassians were hurrying after me ..." <sup>4</sup>.

The concluding lines of the same stanza tally, in the opinion of D.Yakubovič <sup>5</sup>, "almost word for word" with the corresponding

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1. V.D.Spasovič, "Baĭronizm Lermontova", in : " Vestnik Yevropy", 1888, April.

2. E.Duchesne, op. cit., p.294.

3. Scott's Poetical Works , p.169.

4. Lermontov, vol. III , p.226 : "Čego ty hočeš' ot menya?"

"Gostepriimstva i zaščity,"

Prišlec besstrašno otvečal :

"Svoĭ put' v gorah ya poteryal,

Čerkesy vsled za mnoĭ spešili."

5. D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott" etc, p.251.

lines in "The Lady of the Lake" : "You are right, rely on my honour, here is my fire, sit down and warm yourself"<sup>1</sup>, and:

"Enough, enough; sit down and share  
A soldier's couch, a soldier's fare."<sup>2</sup>

This conclusion results probably from the fact that Yakubovič misunderstood the meaning of the word "fare", and confused it with "fire". Lermontov's lines can, however, be seen as a response to Fitz-James request to give him "fire", since his limbs were chilled with frost.

In both poems a conversation takes place as a result of which it is ascertained that the strangers are, in fact, enemies. The laws of hospitality and honour are especially emphasized. Next morning both hosts guide their enemy-guests and the dramatic recognition takes place : " You do not know Izmail well enough : look, here he is, in front of you"<sup>3</sup>, corresponds to Scott's : "...And, Saxon, - I am Roderick Dhu!"<sup>4</sup> The episodes end, however, differently. While Scott describes a fight that takes place after Fitz-James ceased to be Roderick's host, Lermontov allows the enemies to part for the time being.

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1. "Ty prav, na čest' moyu nadejsya!  
Vot moĭ ogon', sadis' i grejsya."

2. Scott's Poetical Works, p.170.

3. Lermontov, vol. III , p.233.

4. Scott's Poetical Works, p.173.

The reasons for their hatred are similar. While Scott's Roderick had seduced Blanche of Devan, who went mad when he deserted her, Izmail had once seduced the Russian soldier's betrothed and later deserted her ; like Blanche, she became insane. As was mentioned above, Lermontov's Russian soldier, who is in this episode a parallel to Fitz-James, at the same time fulfils an action identical with that of De Wilton in "Marmion", reminding the hero of his treachery.

This borrowing was considered irrelevant for the action by the first scholars who noticed its origin. Later investigators have stressed <sup>1</sup> that not only was it important in portraying the character of Izmail but it was also significant in helping to teach Lermontov the composition of a long poem, the art of dialogue, the technique of digressing into descriptions of landscape.

For some descriptions in these landscape digressions Lermontov is again indebted to Scott, particularly to "The Lady of the Lake". There are several details where parallels between the two works can be traced. The backgrounds of the above mentioned meetings at the watch-fires are similar, a "desperate track" through the cliffs and coppice finds its parallel in a track through the mountain made by "a desperate tear" ("Slezoi otčayaniya proryta ...").

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1. Among them S.V.Šuvalov, "Vliyanie na tvorčestvo Lermontova russkoj i yevropejskoj poezii", in : "Venok M.Y.Lermontovu", M.1914, p.315, and D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", etc., p.250.

"The Lady of the Lake", however, was not the only poem of Sir Walter Scott to supply material for "Izmail Beĭ". "Marmion" has also to be regarded as one of its sources. "Marmion" was very popular in Russia, and was, no doubt, read by Lermontov. Byron's praise of it alone would be sufficient to draw Lermontov's attention to it. Translated into Russian in 1828, it had been also read before that time, in French. As we have seen, Bunina requested Sir Walter Scott in 1817 to allow her to translate it. For Lermontov it was accessible also in the original, since he knew English, and probably read it in this language.

Though the second part of "Izmail Beĭ" has an epigraph from "Marmion" :

"High minds of native pride and force  
Most deeply feel thy pangs, Remorse!  
Fear for their scourge, mean villains have,  
Thou art the tortures of the brave,"

the fact that "Marmion" was one of the literary sources of Lermontov's poem was for a long time overlooked by Russian scholars. The reason for this lies no doubt in the fact that this epigraph was omitted in some editions of Lermontov's works.

Neĭman was probably the first to refer vaguely to the possibility of a connection between "Izmail Beĭ" and "Marmion"<sup>1</sup>. Yakubovič supplemented and expanded this comparison<sup>2</sup>. In building up the

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1. B.Neĭman, " K voprosu ob istočnikah poezii Lermontova", in : " Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveščeniya", vol. LXII, P.1916, March, p.88, note 2.

2. D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", etc., pp.252 ff.



strong character of Izmail, Lermontov turned, in his search for literary precedents, not only to Byron but also to "Marmion". He himself stressed this connection by the choice of the epigraph for part two of "Izmail Beĭ".

The idea of a strong nature that feels the pangs of remorse because of a past act of treachery is common to both poems. One who is born with a weak soul is unable to bear such moments, thinks Lermontov, but a powerful mind takes courage, and hardens and transforms them into a "torture of Prometheus"<sup>1</sup>. It is the same idea which interested Scott in "Marmion" and was expressed in the epigraph taken from that poem by Lermontov. In fact, it reads like a translation of this epigraph<sup>2</sup>.

It has to be mentioned that the theme of treachery occupied Lermontov's mind at the time, and a great number of his lyrics written in the years 1831 and 1832 deal with the torments of love and the misery of love betrayed. A possibility that this theme interested Lermontov as the result of a personal experience with N.F.Ivanova with whom he was in love and who married somebody else, cannot be altogether excluded, though it is unlikely, since N.F.Ivanova did not marry before 1833.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Lermontov, vol. III , p. 231 : "Takov, s dušoi kto slaboyu rožden,-  
Ne vyneset minut podobnyh on.  
No moščnyĭ um, krepyas' i kameneya,  
Ih prevrašĭayet v pytku Prometeya," .

2. Pointed out by D.Ward, M.A., to whom I express my gratitude.

3. B.M.Eihenbaum's comments, in : Lermontov, Stihotvoreniya, vol. I, L.1940 , p.298.



This theme of treachery is introduced into "Izmail Beï" in the narrative told by the Russian soldier to Izmail. The soldier speaks at great length about revenge, happiness, and treachery ; and also in the song of Selim <sup>1</sup>. There is also an indication of it at the very end of "Izmail Beï". The fate of Zara is left unknown to the reader ; she is no longer following Izmail. Lermontov, however, gives a hint that treachery may <sup>have</sup> had been the reason for their parting.

The notion of treachery also constitutes the plot of "Marmion", and this theme is stressed in one of the songs introduced into the poem :

"Where shall the traitor rest,  
He, the deceiver,  
Who could win maiden's breast,  
Ruin, and leave her? " <sup>2</sup>

Having heard the song, Marmion :

" ... drew his mantle past his face,  
Between it and the band,  
And rested with his head a space  
Reclining on his hand.  
His thoughts I scan not ; ... " ,

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1. Lermontov, vol. III , p.243 :

"Lyubvi izmenivšiï izmenoï krovavoï,  
Vraga ne srazivšiï pogibnet bez slavy ..",  
and : "Lyubvi bud' vernei,  
Vsegda nagraždyen, kto lyubit do groba."

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2. Scott's Poetical Works, p.81 : "Marmion", Canto III.

and further : "Marmion, whose steady heart and eye

Ne'er changed in worst extremity ;

...

Thought, look, and utterance fail'd him now -

Fall'n was his glance, and flush'd his brow ...".

Very similar is the reaction of Izmail to the narrative of the Russian soldier who tells about Izmail's own treachery in betraying a Russian girl : " Izmail did not listen to him. Only he and God alone knew what - beneath that mask of calm - was taking place within him. With breath constrained, and face upturned (though his proud heart and looks sought no comfort from heaven) he lay on the damp earth, and like that earth was silent, mournful" <sup>1</sup>.

This passage, like that in "Marmion", is followed by a stanza about the pangs of conscience. The similarity between the characters of both heroes is emphasized by a resemblance in their personal appearance <sup>2</sup>. There are also certain details

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1. Lermontov, vol. III , pp.230-231 :

"Yego ne slušal Izmail.

Liš' znayet on da Bog yedinyĭ,

Čto pod spokoĭnoyu ličinoĭ

Togda proishodilo v nem.

Stesniv dyhan'ye vverh licom

(Hot' serdce gordoye i vzglyady

Ne ždali ot nebes otrady)

Ležal on na zemlye syroĭ,

Kak ta zemlya, i mračnyĭ i nemoĭ ...".

2. Lermontov, vol. III , pp.198-199 ;

Scott's Poetical Works, p. 60 : "Marmion", Canto I, Stz.V.

in the plots common to both poems. Like Marmion, Izmail is followed by his beloved who has disguised herself as a page, having abandoned her former life <sup>1</sup>. Like Marmion, he lies wounded after a battle, and is attended by a woman. Zara corresponds here to Clara in "Marmion".

The recognition of Zara by Izmail is, however, reminiscent of the recognition of Constance during the trial <sup>2</sup>. There is also a likeness in Lermontov's presenting his poem as a tale told by an aged Circassian about the old times <sup>3</sup>, - a method so popular with Scott :  
"Hear, then, attentive to my lay,  
A knightly tale of Albion's elder day."

Twice are Songs introduced into "Izmail Beĭ", as they are in "Marmion".

As one more source of "Izmail Beĭ" Yakubovič mentions Scott's "The Fire-King", a ballad which enjoyed a great and early popularity in Russia <sup>4</sup>. It is in the common feature of a religious apostasy that a certain likeness can be found ; while after the death of Izmail a cross is found on his breast, the priests in "The Fire-King" found rosary beads and the "sign of the cross, by his father impressed" on the bosom of Albert. Like the author of "The Fire-King", Lermontov called his poem an "Eastern Tale".

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1. This could be a reminiscence from Byron as well.

2. Scott's Poetical Works, p.74 : "Marmion", Canto II.

3. Lermontov, vol. III, p.193 : "Pro starinu mne povest' razskazal ..."

4. D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", etc., p.261.

This brief analysis of Scott's impact on "Izmail Beĭ" shows a complexity and an interlacement of various borrowings typical of Lermontov's early works. In seeking to develop methods of his own, he did not turn to one particular author, but to many, and used various works as an aid to creating and moulding his own. Later he often used his own works in the same way, recreating various old fragments into new ones, and placing them in different works. Thus, unlike Puškin's, Lermontov's works are full of "self-reminiscences".

"Marmion" had always interested Lermontov. There is a certain echo of it in his poem "I s p o v e d' " <sup>1</sup> ("Confession"), written in 1830, and in a poem closely connected with it, "Boyarín Orša" <sup>2</sup>. N.Daškevič noticed that the end of Lermontov's "Ispoved' " is an assimilation of Canto II, St. XXXIII, of "Marmion" <sup>3</sup>. In addition to "Ispoved' " the same verses made their appearance in two other places in Russian literature. They were included in Žukovskii's translation from "Marmion", written in 1832 and published in 1834, and they were imitated by Kozlov in his poem "Černec". B.Neĭman <sup>4</sup> supplemented Daškevič's observation by finding a likeness between the character

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1. Lermontov, vol. III , pp.104 ff.

2. Lermontov, vol. III , pp.281 ff.

3. N.Daškevič, "Stat'yi po novoĭ russkoĭ literature", in : " Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk", vol.92 , P.1914 , p.484.

4. B.Neĭman, " K voprosu ob istočnikah poezii Lermontova", etc., p. 85-86.

of the hero of "Isproved'" and that of Constance de Beverley. It should be also observed that both of them had left a monastic abode as the result of a deep love.

In "Bo y a r i n O r š a" (1835-1836), in which Lermontov partly recreated the "Isproved' ", he introduced another episode reminiscent of the same part of "Marmion". This is the description of the trial. As in "Marmion", one of the judges is an old blind monk, whose facial expression is stern and cold :

"And he, that Ancient Man, whose sight  
Has long been quenched by age's night,  
Upon whose wrinkled brow alone,  
Nor ruth, nor mercy's trace is shown,  
Whose look is hard and stern,- " <sup>1</sup>.

The cool gravity of Arseniĭ during his trial recalls the calm and constancy of Constance ; in this part Lermontov is far closer to "Marmion" than was Žukovskii in his translation. However, the episodes end in a different way. While Constance is executed, Arseniĭ succeeds in running away. It may be that the idea of a nun's love, which occupied Lermontov's mind for a long period, has its origin also in "Marmion". This idea found its literary form in Lermontov's poem "Demon", written in several versions over a period of 10 years (1829-1839). It seems, however, that there are no direct parallels with Sir Walter Scott in this work.

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1. Scptt's Poetical Works, p.73.

The description of Arseniĭ in Lermontov's poem "L i t v i n k a" (1830) is reminiscent of Lord Marmion as represented in Canto I of "Marmion"<sup>1</sup>. Both have fought in many battles and each has a scar on his face. While Scott describes a scar as a "token true of Bosworth field", Lermontov calls it "a most suitable finery for any age". It is possible to infer from the fact that Lermontov so often returned to the image of Lord Marmion that it was his character that principally attracted Lermontov's interest in this poem. An intense interest in human nature, so typical of his more mature works, obviously existed in the young Lermontov also.

The subject of Lermontov's poem "D v a s o k o l a" ("Two Falcons")<sup>2</sup>, written in 1829, bears some likeness to Puškin's paraphrase of "Twa Corbies"<sup>3</sup>. It is, however, possible that Lermontov turned also to the Scottish original. The conversation between the two falcons takes place, and reveals their disillusionment over merciless treacherous humans with their hearts of stones - a mood typical of the young poet.

Lermontov's poem "B e g l e c"<sup>4</sup> ("The Fugitive"), written in 1839, is usually regarded as having been produced under the

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1. Scott's Poetical Works, p.60.

2. Lermontov, vol. I, p.45.

3. See above pp.95 ff.

4. Lermontov, vol. III, pp.359-363.

influence of Puškin's "Tazit" (or "Galub")<sup>1</sup>. There can be no doubt that there is a connection between them, but it must be admitted that, in fact, both poems originated from Sir Walter Scott. Even more than Puškin's "Tazit", Lermontov's "Fugitive" has an affinity to Scott's presentation of a fugitive on the one hand, and a son cursed by his mother for not avenging his father's misfortune on the other. This fact shows that Scott's influence on "Beglec" can be observed not only through the channel of "Tazit", but also directly, in the adaptation of two of the situations in Scott's novels as a plot of his poem.

It was in "The Fair Maid of Perth" that Scott described the flight of a man from the field of battle, his head bare and his hair dishevelled ..., his feet marking the sod with blood ... , his countenance wild, haggard, and highly excited, ... without seeing what was before him, as hares are said to do when severely pressed by the greyhounds<sup>2</sup>.

Quicker than a fallow deer, quicker than a hare running from an eagle, the frightened Garun of Lermontov's poem runs away from the battlefield where his father and two brothers have been killed. He has forgotten his duty, his sense of shame he has lost his rifle, his sword ... His feet are stained with blood, like those of Scott's Conochar.

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1. Puškin (ed.Vengerov), vol. VI , p.460.

2. "The Fair Maid of Perth" , vol. II , p.333.

Conochar flung alms to the beggar in order to purchase his blessing, and the latter threw them back in disgust, with a curse upon the coward. Lermontov's fugitive also seeks sympathy, and is rejected by a dying friend.

While Conochar meets Catherine in his flight, Garun hears his love singing a song about the disgraceful end of a traitor. Even nature will dispise a traitor : the rain will not wash his wounds, the beasts will not bury his bones. This song was taken over by Lermontov in a slightly modified version from his own poem "Izmail Beï". Both songs, however, are inspired by Scott. Nature reacted similarly to Conochar's disgrace : "The brute beasts in their lowing and bleating - the wild winds in their rustling and howling - the hoarse waters in their dash and roar, cried : Out upon the bastard!"

Weeping in despair, Garun, as a last hope, knocks at the window of his home, where he hopes his mother is expecting him - but "not him alone" : as soon as his mother realizes that her unfortunate son has returned without avenging the death of his father and brothers, she turns him away with the words : "You are a slave and a coward - you are not a son to me." This passage reminds one of a similar situation in "Rob Roy"<sup>1</sup> : "What means this, Allaster?... Robert? ... Hamish? ...Where's the Mac Gregor? Where is your father?" "Taken?" repeated Helen :

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1. "Rob Roy" , vol. II , pp.206-207.



"taken captive! and you live to say so? Coward dogs! Did I nurse you for this, that you should spare your blood on your father's enemies, ... and come back to tell it?"

Like Conochar, Garun also commits suicide. Both authors proceed to narrate legends about their existence after death. While in one of the legends, told by Scott, Conochar wandered through wood and wild, sometimes attacking a traveller, but, when resisted with courage, always flying<sup>1</sup>, the shadow of Lermontov's Garun still wanders in the dark nights in the hills. Lermontov, however, introduces a religious element into his poem, and makes the shadow of the suicide fly from a prayer of the Koran as he formerly fled from the sword.

The connection between the "K a z a č' y a k o l y b e l' n a y a p e s n y a" ("Cossack Cradle Song") and Scott's "Lullaby of an Infant Chief" was probably the first contact between the two authors to be noticed by Russian critics. As early as 1841<sup>2</sup> S.Ševyrev remarked that Lermontov's "Kazač'ya kolybel'naya pesnya" reminded him of Scott's "Lullaby". Later Lermontov's poem was often compared with a lullaby written in 1834 by a Russian Decembrist poet A.Poležayev. Among other possible sources of Lermontov's poem, Puškin's "Kavkazskii plennik", and Gogol's "Taras Bul'ba" are sometimes mentioned.

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1. "The Fair Maid of Perth", vol. II, p.336.
  2. "Moskvityanin", 1841, vol. II, No.4, p.534, quoted from : S.V.Šuvalov, op. cit., p.314.

Though Lermontov gave literary form to Cossack folk-lore in this poem, his use of some literary sources is also probable, among them Scott's "Lullaby of an Infant Chief". The beauty and depth of a mother's feelings towards her baby constitute the theme of Lermontov's poem. While the "sire" of Scott's infant "was a knight", the father of the Cossack infant is an old warrior. In both poems the women refer in their songs to the approaching enemy, and tell the baby not to fear. Both references alone are sufficient to frighten a child should he understand their meaning. Especially frightful is Lermontov's mentioning of the cruel Chechen crawling on the bank of the river and sharpening his knife. Further, both women sing about the child's military future. Lermontov's : "You yourself will see - the time will come - a martial life, you will bravely put your foot in the stirrup, and take a rifle" corresponds to Scott's :

" ... the time soon will come,  
When thy sleep shall be broken by trumpet and drum."

With the mentioned parallels and the use of "local colour" the likeness between both poems ends, and Lermontov proceeds with a beautiful lyrical description of a mother's feelings at seeing her son off.

The impact of Sir Walter Scott on Lermontov is not exhausted with his poems. There are some reflections of Scott in Lermontov's

prose works also. Lermontov wrote his novel "V a d i m" at the age of 18, in 1832. It was only natural for a prose writer of that period to follow in the steps of Sir Walter Scott. No wonder that Lermontov too turned to Scott, though he used other sources also in his first attempt to write in prose - an ambitious attempt for a person of his age, especially considering the fact that at that time there were almost no good examples to follow in the field of Russian prose. Though "Vadim" followed Zagoskin's "Yurii Miloslavskii" in time, it was written before Puškin's "Kapitanskaya dočka", and thus Lermontov anticipated Puškin in the choice of the particular period at which the action took place. For both authors chose the time of the Pugačev rebellion - a choice which in itself recalls Scott's frequent selection of times of troubles for his novels. However, unlike Lermontov's, Puškin's novel was preceded by a serious study of historical facts. Lermontov painted the historical events only in general lines ; the same can be said of his use of local colour and his presentation of the period and the way of life of the people.

There is a difference of opinion among Russian scholars whether "Vadim" should or should not be considered a "historical novel". Basing his opinion on the general conception of a historical novel as formulated by Zamotin and Kozmin, Rodzevič in his work on Lermontov's prose works <sup>1</sup> came to the conclusion that "Vadim"

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1. S.I.Rodzevič, Lermontov kak romanist, Kiev 1914 , p.21.

could not be regarded as a historical novel, because the elements essential for this genre are only vaguely represented in Lermontov's work. These elements are : the preponderance of the historical elements over the love intrigue, the poetical representation of the spirit and way of life of the people. Local colour is, in Rodzevič's opinion, only vaguely sketched in "Vadim", unlike the typical historical novel. B. Eihenbaum supplemented this opinion in one of his works on Lermontov<sup>1</sup>, saying that "Vadim" is not a historical novel in the orthodox meaning, since no historical persons nor any historical events are represented in it. D. Yakubovič vigorously opposed this point of view, stressing the fact that "Vadim" was left unfinished and that the lack of some elements in a fragment cannot be a sound criterion of a genre<sup>2</sup>. It is true that "Vadim" is an unfinished work, and that it is difficult to imagine what intentions Lermontov had for its continuation. However, as far as it is possible to judge from the fragment, the historical element in it is, in fact, only the background against which the plot is set and is for the author merely a means of showing the reader Vadim's feelings ; the Pugačev rebellion is no more than an opportunity for Vadim to avenge the death of his father and the injury he himself had suffered at Palicyn's hands. From this point of view "Vadim" certainly is not the common type of

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1. B.M. Eihenbaum, Lermontov, Opyt istoriko-literaturnoj ocenki, L.1924 , p.128.

2. D. Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", etc., p.249.

a historical novel, as understood by Lermontov's contemporaries. This problem, however, cannot possibly affect the importance of Scott's impact on Lermontov's work, especially since it was Scott's "The Black Dwarf", which itself is not a historical novel, that has left noticeable traces in "Vadim". Other borrowings are in the field of plot and methods.

The question of the connection between this work of Lermontov and Scott's writings occupied scholars in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. S.I.Rodzevič<sup>1</sup> analysed the likeness between the main characters in "Vadim" and in "The Black Dwarf"; B.V.Neiman<sup>2</sup> found several echoes of "Old Mortality" in Lermontov's novel. "The Black Dwarf", though not so popular as some of Scott's other novels, was known in Russia and translated into Russian in 1824. There is no definite proof that Lermontov had read it; it is, however, very probable. Lermontov's attention could also have been drawn to it by an adaptation Šahovskoi made for the theatre, and from Byron's fragment of "The Deformed Transformed". Besides, the "Notre Dame de Paris" by V.Hugo appeared in 1831. Quasimodo was soon seen to have been influenced by the portrayal of Elshie.

*Elshie?* Certainly, both these works have left their marks in the early work of Lermontov. The character of Scott's Elshie influenced that of Vadim not only through Victor Hugo's Quasimodo, but also directly. It is not insignificant that there is a reference to Sir Walter Scott

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1. S.I.Rodzevič, op. cit., pp.15-16.

2. B.V.Neiman, "K voprosu ob istočnikah poezii Lermontova", etc., pp.81-88.

in the text of "Vadim" <sup>1</sup>. It is typical of Lermontov that even in this early period when he was writing "Vadim" he centred his main interest upon the character of his hero. The same, though it was not typical of Scott, can be said of "The Black Dwarf". Not many traces were left by Scott's characters in Russian literature.

"Vadim", however, is one of them. Like Elshie, Vadim is a cripple. Though both are hunchbacked and deformed, they are both extremely strong physically. The painful consciousness of his ugliness makes Vadim a misanthrope. Scott's words about Elshie that he "was fully aware of his own deficiency ; the sense of it haunted him like a phantom" <sup>2</sup>, could be appropriately applied to Vadim also. Like Elshie, Vadim never forgets that he is an ugly hunchback, hated by everybody because he had been insulted by nature. However, both Elshie and Vadim have superior intellectual qualities. Elshie is a "man whose language argued him to be of rank and education much superior to the vulgar" <sup>3</sup>, and there is much fire and intelligence in the eyes of Vadim - "he was not born for slavery" <sup>4</sup>. In fact, both are of noble descent. These talented but physically deformed men have suffered much at other people's hands, and in consequence become misanthropes ; but they are not the monstrous blackguards that are depicted by some of Scott's imitators. "And why should

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1. Lermontov, vol. V , p.42.

2. "The Black Dwarf", p.349.

3. "The Black Dwarf", p.232.

4. Lermontov, vol. V p.7.

I interest myself in a race which accounts me a prodigy and an outcast, and which has treated me as such?" exclaims Elshie <sup>1</sup>, "No, by all the ingratitude which I have reaped - by all the wrongs which I have sustained - by my imprisonment, my stripes, my chains, I will wrestle down my feelings of rebellious humanity! ... as if I, towards whom none show sympathy, ought to have sympathy with any one." But, in fact, to use Earncliffe's expression : " his deeds are better than his words." Like Elshie Vadim says of himself : "I have asked nothing from the people except bread, but they added to it contempt and mockery . I was rich in all feelings ... but gradually all disappeared" <sup>2</sup>; only wickedness and vengeance were left in his soul <sup>3</sup>. However, both these misanthropes are capable of tender feelings towards their kinswomen. "I who wish ill to all mankind", says Elshie to Miss Vere ; " cannot wish more evil to you, so much is your course of life crossed by it" <sup>4</sup>, and indeed he helps her in her distress, and not her alone. Vadim longs for his love for his sister to be reciprocated. There is a moment when he almost regrets all he has done for "his personal revenge", and feels contempt for himself <sup>5</sup>. Had she responded to his attachment towards her, he might have

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1. "The Black Dwarf", p.248.
  2. Lermontov, vol. V , p.10.
  3. Lermontov, vol. V , p.61.
  4. "The Black Dwarf", p.236.
  5. Lermontov, vol. V , p.44.



given up all his hate, all his thoughts of revenge, and in addition all his revolutionary ideas. This "humanity", if one can speak of such a quality in a person like Vadim, is common to both, him and Elshie, in contrast with the hero of Victor Hugo.

There is a passage in one of the stories in "Geroi našego vremeni"<sup>1</sup>, where Lermontov, probably remembering Vadim, gives his judgement on deformed people, saying that he has a strong prejudice against them. He has observed, he says, that there is always a strange connection between the exterior of a person and his soul, as if with a loss of a limb his soul also loses one of its feelings. This opinion is contrary to Scott's views on the same subject, as expressed in his introduction to "The Black Dwarf"<sup>2</sup>: "Nature maintains a certain balance of good and evil in all her works; and there is no state perhaps so utterly desolate, which does not possess some source of gratification peculiar to itself". But Sir Walter Scott was also aware of the common dislike of deformed people, and put this opinion into the mouth of a "friendly critic", who "... was of opinion that the idea of the Solitary was of a kind too revolting, and more likely to disgust than to interest the reader"<sup>3</sup>.

We do not know what made Lermontov leave his "Vadim" unfinished; may be it was the same disgust that he felt with his hero, of which he speaks later in "Geroi našego vremeni".

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1. Lermontov, vol. V, pp.230-231: "Taman".

2. "The Black Dwarf", p.184.

3. "The Black Dwarf", p.188.



It is possible that Rodzevič was right in saying that the prototype of Petruha in "Vadim" was Davie from "Waverley". It is, however, more likely that this type was transplanted into Lermontov's novel through the medium of Zagoskin's Mitya.

In addition to similarities of character, there is one detail in the plot of "Vadim" which can be traced to Scott. As mentioned, Neiman found in it parallels with "Old Mortality" and came to the conclusion that the episode of old Palicyn hiding in a cave was an "unconscious parody" of a similar episode with Burley.

There is certainly a similarity in the episodes. Both Burley and Palicyn are hiding from their enemies in caves, lying in a remote wild district <sup>1</sup>. While Burley's contact with the outside world is maintained with the help of a little girl, the fool Petruha, ordered by his mother, helps Palicyn. Morton finds Burley in his hiding-place. Approaching it, he sees a fire of red-hot charcoal inside the cave. When Yuriĭ finds his father's place of concealment, he smells smoke on approaching it.

As rightly observed by Neiman, there is also a difference expressed mainly in the characters of the persons taking part in this episode. It is, however, doubtful whether Lermontov's borrowing could therefore be called a "parody". It was only

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1. "Old Mortality", vol. II , pp.274-275 ;  
Lermontov, vol. V , pp.87-88.

one detail of the plot which was borrowed by Lermontov, and in general neither Palicyn nor any of the other characters in "Vadim" have anything in common with the characters in "Old Mortality", and cannot therefore be considered as "parodies", even unconscious ones, of any of the persons in Scott's novel.

The question whether Lermontov had learnt anything from "Old Mortality" in the way of representing a revolutionary movement, was put by N.Piksanov in his article on "The Peasants' Rebellion in 'Vadim' by Lermontov"<sup>1</sup>, and answered affirmatively. It is impossible to agree with this opinion. Burley is a revolutionary by idea, Vadim, however, by chance. As has been noted, the rebellion is for him only a means for avenging his father's death. In fact, he has only one enemy - Palicyn - all his other foes are incidental. Lermontov's intention was not so much to represent in his work a revolutionary movement, as Piksanov believed, as to picture the psychology of a cripple wronged by nature as well as by man.

There are some places in "Vadim" where the use of Scott's methods can be observed - such as the conversation between the robbers, and the slang used by them, as well as the elements of mysteriousness in the conversations about the "Red Cap". The narrative of "Vadim" is twice interrupted by songs, a typical feature in Scott; - hunting takes place in "Vadim" as it does in many of Scott's works.

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1. N.K.Piksanov, "Krestyanskoye vosstaniye v Vadime Lermontova" , in :  
"Istoričeski-literaturnyĭ sbornik" (ed.S.P.Byčkov), M.-L.1947, p.205.

We can see that, independently of whether or not we consider "Vadim" to be a historical novel, it shows several signs of contact with Scott's works. However, the impact of Sir Walter Scott on this work is, besides his usual effects, expressed in a less common way. It can be observed mainly in the creation of Vadim as a character.

Scott's methods are more important in their effect on Lermontov's last and best novel "G e r o ĭ n a š e g o v r e m e n i"(1839-1841). It was in this novel that Lermontov once again mentioned Scott's name. As noticed before, Pečorin reads a novel by Scott the night preceding his duel, and is so fascinated by its wonderful pictures that he forgets about the duel.

Yakubovič believes that there is a certain likeness in the descriptions of Pečorin and Nigel : " They (his eyes) did not laugh when he was laughing", says Lermontov about his hero. Scott, however, mentioned the sadness in the voice of Nigel while he was speaking about merry things. Yakubovič even tries to prove that it was in order to conceal this borrowing that Lermontov put into the hands of Pečorin "Old Mortality" instead of "The Fortunes of Nigel", as he first intended to do <sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to agree with this opinion. True, there is a remote likeness in both passages. But it seems more likely that it was a result of an unconscious reminiscence, if not a mere coincidence. Even if it was an

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1. D.Yakubovič, "Lermontov i Val'ter Skott", etc., p.270.

assimilation, there was nothing uncommon in such and even in much more important borrowings at that time, and there was no reason to conceal them since nobody felt guilty about taking over a detail from somebody else's work. It seems rather to be a mere coincidence that Lermontov chose for his Byronic hero a pair of eyes that never laughed, while Nigel's voice was sad even when he spoke about happy things.

The heroine of "Taman'", one of the stories in "Geroi našego vremeni", is akin to Fenella in "Peveril of the Peak"<sup>1</sup>. Like mermaids with their hair loose, both extremely gracious and wild, they appear in an atmosphere full of mystery. Lermontov himself, however, compared his heroine with Goethe's Mignon. Still, there can be no doubt that Lermontov was familiar with Fenella too, since he mentions a performance of the opera "Fenella" in his novel "Knyaginya Ligovskaya"<sup>2</sup>.

However, of much more importance than any adopted traces in the characters, seems to be the use of some of Scott's methods in "Geroi našego vremeni". Belinskiĭ was the first to draw a parallel between Lermontov's novel and Scott's works, when speaking about the organic structure of both authors' writings<sup>3</sup>. Later various authors (Eiĭhenbaum, Yakubovič, Rodzevič) paid attention to the problem of the "frame" in Lermontov's work, and partially attributed it to the impact of Sir Walter Scott.

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1. Noticed by Yakubovič.

2. Lermontov, vol. V, pp.116 ff.

3. Belinskiĭ, vol.II, pp.13 ff.

The "framework" of the "Geroi našego vremeni", its introduction, the person of a fictitious publisher, the mention of changed names, and a promise to publish the remaining part of the manuscript ; - all these are methods of literary mystification so familiar in Sir Walter Scott, and applied prior to Lermontov by Puškin<sup>1</sup> and Gogol'<sup>2</sup>.

To my knowledge it has not been stressed by anybody that the introductory sentence of Lermontov's preface can be seen to have a close connection with "A Postscript which should have been a Preface" in "Waverley". "In every book", writes Lermontov, "an introduction is its first and also last thing". He thinks that the aim of an introduction is either to explain the idea of the work, or to answer the critics, and justify the author against their reproaches. It is a pity, he continues, that our public does not read introductions. "This should have been a prefatory chapter", writes Scott<sup>3</sup>, and he continues a little later : " ... most novel readers, as my own conscience reminds me, are apt to be guilty of the sin of omission respecting that same matter of prefaces;" .

Yakubovič was right in remarking that the story "Maksim Maksimovič" fulfils, in fact, the function of an introduction - once again a method typical of Scott who liked to give to his introductions the character of an independent narrative. The discovery of the manuscript, a method favoured by Scott and usually connected with some humorous details<sup>4</sup>, is also used by Lermontov, who acquires the manuscript by chance from

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1. See above pp. 144 ff..

2. See below p. 229.

3. "Waverley" , vol. II , p.363.

4. Cf. Scott's introductions to "Monastery", "The Fortunes of Nigel", etc..

Maksim Maksimovič, who intended to make cartridges out of it. The renunciation of authorship, cultivated by Sir Walter Scott, is not overlooked by Lermontov, and is also applied in his novel : "I have taken advantage of, says Lermontov, to put my name over another author's work" <sup>1</sup>.

It should be mentioned that there are traces of these introductory methods of Sir Walter Scott used in another preface to a work by Lermontov, namely to his drama "Strannyĭ čelovek", written in 1831. "The people portrayed by me are all taken from nature ...". This trick is frequently used by Sir Walter Scott in his introductions, who even mentions names of invented persons and all sorts of details concerning them, in order to persuade the reader of their existence.

There are, however, also important differences between Lermontov's preface to "Geroĭ našego vremeni" and the elaborate system of Scott's introductions, fully reproduced in Puškin's preface to "Tales of Belkin" <sup>2</sup>. Three persons are usually used by Scott in his mystifications - the narrator, the collector of stories, and the publisher, and each of them is described in full detail. This complication of the method was not used by Lermontov.

Another feature, originated by Scott, namely the development of local colour, was widely used by Lermontov in his descriptions of the Caucasus and the local people. The life in a Caucasian spa is pictured

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1. Lermontov, vol. V , p.228 (preface to "Žurnal Pečorina") : " Ya vospol'zovalsya slučajem postavit' svoje imya nad čužim proizvedeniyem."
  2. See above p.146.

in the story "Knyazna Meri", also a part of "Geroi našego vremeni". Maybe the idea to present it came from reading "St. Ronan's Well".

As has been seen, Scott's impact on Lermontov's prose works took a different course from his effect on other authors. Scott's plots were not much used by Lermontov in his prose. Scott's characters and his methods were the two elements that particularly interested Lermontov, and were used by him in his own writings.

One more work by Lermontov that was partly inspired by Sir Walter Scott is his drama "Ispancy" (1830). It was written by Lermontov at the age of 16, and, there is therefore little wonder that, like "Izmail Beï", it consists of a mixture of adaptations from various authors. This was soon noticed by Russian investigators. Prof. Kotlyarevskii wrote in 1905<sup>1</sup> about pages from Sir Walter Scott and Lessing in this work by Lermontov. Neïman made a detailed analysis of the connection of "Ispancy" with "Ivanhoe"<sup>2</sup> and came to the conclusion that two episodes from this work by Scott were borrowed by Lermontov. In both works, the hero, who is a Christian, saves an old Jew from great danger by guiding him through a district well known to him. In both cases the Jew has a secret fear that his guide could betray him. The hero, a Christian, though sorry for the old man, detests him. In both cases the hero at first refuses the money

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1. N.A. Kotlyarevskii, op. cit., p.106.

2. B.V. Neïman, "'Ispancy' Lermontova i 'Aïvengo' Val'tera Skotta", in : "Filologičeskiye Zapiski", vol. 5, 1915, No.V/VI, pp.709-721, quoted from : M.A. Yakovlev, M.Y. Lermontov kak dramaturg, L.-M. 1924, pp.122-123, since it has proved impossible to obtain a copy of this article.



offered by the Jew, but later, accepts it. While Ivanhoe gets a horse from Isaac, Fernando asks Moiseï to lend him some money.

The second episode analysed by Neïman is the care and nursing of a wounded hero, a Christian, by a beautiful Jewess who falls in love with her patient. Both heroes are grateful to them, but both love another woman, and do not conceal this fact. Therefore neither of the Jewesses hopes to find a reciprocal love and neither reveals her feelings.

M.A.Yakovlev <sup>1</sup> supplemented Neïman's comparisons, and found two more points of contact between these two works. The Jewish melodies sung by Moiseï's servants in "Ispancy" <sup>2</sup> were in his opinion inspired by the song which Rebecca sang in prison <sup>3</sup>. Yakovlev admits, however, that textually they are written in Byron's fashion. The second borrowed element, discovered by Yakovlev, is the kidnapping, or rather capturing, of the heroine. Both villains speak of their passion to the captives, and try to force them to share this passion ; both threaten them. In both works the liberation of these women is of a sanguinary character, but both captors remain alive. Yakovlev does not mention, however, that the "liberation" of Emiliya from her kidnapper involves her death at the hands of her lover.

There can be no doubt that Lermontov was acquainted with "Ivanhoe". It was, in fact, one of the most popular works by Scott in Russia.

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1. M.A.Yakovlev, M.Y.Lermontov kak dramaturg, L.-M.1924, p.124.

2. Lermontov, vol. IV , pp.64-65.

3. "Ivanhoe", vol. II pp 245-246



As early as 1822 "Ivanhoe" was adapted as a drama by Šahovskoi<sup>1</sup>; the composer Glinka intended to write an opera using it as a libretto.

The question of Fernando's descent is usually viewed as connected with Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" ; it is, however, worth mentioning that one of Scott's characters, - like Fernando - of Jewish descent, was <sup>also</sup> as well brought up in the house of a Christian. This is Richard Middlemass from "The Surgeon's Daughter".

From all that has been said above about the impact of Sir Walter Scott on Lermontov's works it is possible to come to the conclusion that Scott, who was one of the many teachers of Lermontov, supplied him with plots in his early works ; later, however, it was Scott's methods and technique which predominated in his impact on the Russian author. In addition, Lermontov assimilated some of Scott's characters, which was indeed a rarer feature of Scott's impact on Russian authors.

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1. B. Malnick, "A.A.Shakhovskoy", in : "The Slavonic and East European Review", vol. 32, No.78 , p.46.

4. N. V. G o g o l' (1809-1852).

"Walter Scott, this great genius whose every novel surprises us with the perfection of its creation ..." wrote Gogol' in a draft to his article "On the Movement of Journalistic Literature in 1834 and 1835"<sup>1</sup>. "Walter Scott, this genius whose immortal works embrace life so fully ..." he wrote in the fair copy of the same article<sup>2</sup>.

Though Gogol' did not mention Scott when speaking of the portraits hanging on his wall, to which he now and then raised his eyes when writing<sup>3</sup>, he undoubtedly learned quite a lot from the Scottish novelists's skill and methods. Not knowing English, Gogol' must have read Scott's works in the Russian, or French translations. It is, however, difficult to agree with E. Simmons that there is very little evidence for the influence of English literature on Gogol'<sup>4</sup>. Like Puškin, Gogol' admired Scott's quiet objective mind ; in his opinion, Scott's great genius converted the "romantic" into the "classical", and produced clear, distinct , great works<sup>5</sup>. It was once again the realism of Scott's works, especially in comparison with Byron, which appealed to Gogol' and helped him in finding his own seemingly realistic manner of writing.

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1. N.V.Gogol', Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ (ed. Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut russkoĭ literatury, Puškinskiĭ dom), vol. VIII, 1952, p.524.

2. Ibid., p.160.

3. See below p. 253.

4. E.J.Simmons, "Gogol and English Literature", in : " Modern Language Review", vol. 26 , 1931, p.445.

5. N.V.Gogol', ibid., vol.VIII, p.554.

Sir Walter Scott, in Gogol's opinion, even had an influence on architecture, being the first to sweep away the dust from Gothic architecture and to show the world its merits <sup>1</sup>. Scott's death was noted by Gogol' as an event of great importance and he called Scott a great artist of the human heart, nature and life, the fullest and most extensive genius of the 19th century <sup>2</sup>.

P.V.Annenkov writes in his memoirs about Gogol' <sup>3</sup> that the only Western European author known to Gogol' by anything more than hearsay was Sir Walter Scott. He respected, deeply admired, and loved him. At that period (1841) Gogol', in Annenkov's opinion, was more likely to justify a break with the past than its artificial revival. Therefore Sir Walter Scott was for him not a representative of conservative ("ohranitel'nyh") principles and of a tender attachment to the past, as he was in the eyes of European critics ; - it was Scott the artist, thought Annenkov, that Gogol' admired, Scott with his wonderful development of plots, his detailed investigation of character, and the surety with which he led his complicated stories to their results.

It is doubtful how exact Annenkov's information was about Gogol's knowledge of Western European literature, and many investigations into the impact of various Western authors on his works point to a different

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1. N.V.Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ , M.1953, vol.VI , p.49.

2. Ibid., p.101.

3. P.V.Annenkov, "N.V.Gogol' v Rime letom 1841 goda", in : " Gogol' v vospominaniyah sovremennikov" (ed.N.L.Brodskii), M.1952, p.259.

conclusion. Nevertheless it is certain that Sir Walter Scott, whether an exception or not, was well known and admired by N.V.Gogol'. Not only is his name mentioned with great respect and admiration in Gogol's articles but there are references to Scott in his letters also. In 1827 Gogol' sent books to his sister, among them a translation of Scott's "Lord of the Isles" <sup>1</sup>. While staying in Switzerland, Gogol' wrote to several friends that he was re-reading Walter Scott <sup>2</sup>. In 1842 he recommended a friend to read Scott <sup>3</sup>.

Russian critics were quick to notice indications of the impact of Scott's works on Gogol'. In the same month as the first book of his "V e č e r a   n a   h u t o r e   b l i z   D i k a n' k i" appeared (September 1831), N.Polevoï <sup>4</sup> described Gogol's literary mystification in his introduction, as a wish to become another "Val'terskottik", another "great stranger". In the same article Polevoï reproached Gogol' for his inability to recreate the Ukrainian fairy-tales in the daring manner of Walter Scott. Puškin wrote of "Taras Bul'ba" that its beginning was worthy of Sir Walter Scott, while F.Bulgarin <sup>5</sup> refused to bestow the title of "the Russian Walter Scott" on Gogol' on the strength of only one successful work.

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1. N.V.Gogol', Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ, vol. X ,1940, p.412.

2. Ibid., vol. XI ,1952, pp. 14,60,73.

3. Ibid., vol. XII,1952, footnote to p.37.

4. "Moskovskiiĭ Telegraf",1831,No.17,September; - quoted from V.Zelinskiĭ, Russkaya kritičeskaya literatura o proizvedeniyah N.V.Gogolya, M.1910, vol. I , pp.25-28.

5. "Severnaya pčela",1836,No.26; - quoted from Zelinskiĭ, vol.I, pp.139-141.

The critics maintained their belief in a connection between Gogol's works and Scott in the forties also. Ševyrev <sup>1</sup> wrote in 1842 that while Italy with its poetry, art, and nature revealed to Gogol' the outward side of his "clairvoyant phantasy", Shakespeare and Walter Scott disclosed the inward side of it and completed the development. Shakespeare and Scott taught Gogol' , in Ševyrev's opinion, the art of creating characters while taking into account all possible situations, and all the tortuous movements of their souls and bodies.

V. Belinskiĭ was of the opinion that Gogol' as a writer, originated from Scott, and that without Scott he would not <sup>have</sup> made his appearance at all <sup>2</sup>. He stressed, however, the difference in their works : while the epic of Scott contained, he thought, the idea of a universal life ("soderžaniye obščei žizni"), there was a complete lack of universality in the works of Gogol' <sup>3</sup>.

There is little wonder that Gogol's contemporaries were reminded of Scott when reading the preface to the "Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka". Gogol', like Puškin, Lermontov, and many others , made use of Scott's methods of literary mystification. Gogol's stories are supposed to be collected and edited by an invented person - the bee-keeper Rudyĭ Pan'ko. This method of ascribing a work to an invented

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1. "Moskvityanin", 1842, vol. IV, No. 8; - quoted from Zelinskiĭ, vol. II, pp. 13 ff

2. Belinskiĭ, vol. III , p. 742.

3. Belinskiĭ, vol. III , p. 835.

author, though known before in Western literature, was developed and elaborated by Scott, and was in Russia a feature quite inseparable from his name.

One of Gogol's biographers, P.Kuliš<sup>1</sup>, was of the opinion that the anonymity of Gogol's stories and the figure of their editor were, after the first part of this book was written, suggested to Gogol' by P.A.Pletnev in order to protect the young author from the unnecessary attacks of the critics. The authenticity of this communication is, however, doubted by contemporary critics<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the anonymity of the "Večera" was not called forth by Gogol's fear of facing the criticism but by his desire to narrate various Ukrainian fairy-tales and traditions. To unite them as the stories told by a bee-keeper was for him a convenient opportunity not only of explaining the different nature of various stories and their style, but also for emphasizing their national character. The bee-keeper is a character, portrayed in detail, like the editors presented in Scott's introductions. Besides, this invention of anonymous authorship, cultivated by Scott, gained ground in Russian literature before Gogol'<sup>3</sup>. Puškin's "Tales of Belkin" were, no doubt, known to Gogol' even before they were published, as it was through him that Puškin sent his manuscript to St. Petersburg in August 1831<sup>4</sup>.

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1. "Otečestvennyye zapiski", 1852, No. 4, vol. VIII, pp. 200-201; - quoted from: N.V. Gogol', Polnoye sobraniye sočineniĭ, vol. I, 1940, p. 501.

2. N.V. Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M. 1952, vol. I, p. 329.

3. See above pp. 145-149.

4. N.V. Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M. 1953, vol. VI, p. 429.

It is possible that the idea itself of publishing his stories as collected or edited by an invented person originated from reading Puškin's "Tales of Belkin", but in writing his preface Gogol' seems to have turned directly to the source common to both authors - the introduction to "Tales of my Landlord". The first translation of "Old Mortality" in Russian appeared in 1824, under the title "Šotlandskiye Puritane". This work was extremely popular, and was, no doubt, known to Gogol' who was very interested in Scott's works.

The red-haired bee-keeper has much in common with Jedediah Cleishbotham, and there is a likeness in the themes and the humorous style of their prefaces <sup>1</sup>. Both "authors" are provincials but prominent persons in their own little places, - at least they feel themselves to be quite important. Gogol', unlike Scott, has not chosen a teacher to edit his tales but a bee-keeper at whose house young people used to meet and spend their evenings in work, plays, and story-telling. This was done by Gogol' in order to emphasize the peculiarly national character of his stories. Like Jedediah, Rudyĭ Pan'ko is not used to the big world and says that it is easier for him to go twice a year to Mirgorod than to show himself in the "big world" (meaning to produce his tales); but having done it "he has to answer for it". Compare :

" ... my situation at Gandercleugh hath been more favourite to my acquisitions in learning than to the enlargement of my views of the ways and works of the present generation. To the which objection ... my answer shall be threefold ... <sup>2</sup>" .

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1. V.V.Vinogradov, *Etyudy o stile Gogolya*, L.1926, p.42.

2. "Old Mortality", vol.I , p.XI.



Both "authors" are proud of the place they belong to. Gandercleugh is in Cleishbotham's descriptions "the central part - the navel (si fas sit dicere) of this our native realm of Scotland ; so that men, from every corner thereof, when travelling on their concerns of business ... are frequently led to make Gandercleugh their abiding stage and place of rest for the night" <sup>1</sup>. Dikan'ka is a famous place, in the opinion of the bee-keeper : "I imagine you have heard enough about Dikan'ka". The house there is better than any bee-keeper's hut, and there is probably no such garden even in Petersburg <sup>2</sup>. Like Jedediah, Rudyĩ anticipates a possible criticism by replying to it beforehand.

In his description of the story-teller Gogol' uses the method of description by negation used by Scott in his portrait of the Landlord, i.e. describing the subject in terms of the attributes which he did not possess, saying what he was not. "And what stories he could spin", exclaims Pan'ko, while Cleishbotham compares the stories told by his Landlord with " a well-built palace, decorated with facetious narratives and devices, tending much to the enhancement and ornament thereof" <sup>3</sup>.

Like Jedediah, Rudyĩ Pan'ko hints that he himself could write stories like those he has edited, and, perhaps, he will include some stories told by the bee-keeper (himself) to his grandchildren in his next book. He also makes a promise to publish another book of tales,

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1. "Old Mortality", vol. I , pp.XI-XII.

2. N.V.Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĩ, M.1952, vol.I, p.6 : "Večera na hutore bliz Dikan'ki".

3. "Old Mortality", vol. I , p.XV.



as he has them in a quantity sufficient for about ten books <sup>1</sup>.

There is also a certain connection between the introduction to Gogol's "Večera", and the Address to the readers by Jedediah Cleishbotham in "The Heart of Midlothian" <sup>2</sup>. Gogol's description of the "balahon" made of thin cloth of the colour of cold potato "kisel'" <sup>3</sup> worn by Foma Grigoryevič, - or, the pea-coloured "kaftan" of the inventive story-teller <sup>4</sup>, may owe something to Cleishbotham's "new coat" ("snuff-brown, and with metal buttons ...") <sup>5</sup>, as well as to the detailed description of the appearance of the story-tellers. The tone of good-humoured chattering is common to both introductions, and both contain strikingly similar invitations to the readers to pay a visit to the authors in their well-known places and a promise to entertain them.

All these parallels are sufficient to prove that Scott's introductions were indeed one of the sources used by Gogol' not only in his use of literary mystification but also in his humorous introduction and in the portrait of the author. Nevertheless Gogol' put so much of his own elaborate expressive manner into his introduction that it can easily count among his early masterpieces.

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1. Cf.: "I conceived myself entitled to dispose of one parcel thereof" (Scott, *ibid.*, p.XVI), which in the Russian translation was supplemented by the answer of the cunning bookseller that four volumes were sufficient for the public, for a first appearance.
  2. Noticed by V.Vinogradov, *Etyudy o stile Gogolya*, p.44.
  3. "... cveta zastužennogo kartofel'nogo kiselya ..."
  4. Gogol', *Sobraniye sočineniĭ*, M.1952, vol. I, p.5.
  5. "The Heart of Midlothian", vol. I, p.XXXIII.

Not only was the introduction to "Večera" assimilated from Scott but some of his methods were used by Gogol' in the stories also. Like Scott, Gogol' tried to give a local colour and picturesqueness to his stories. The use of local colour in his work was noticed by his contemporaries and praised highly by N. Nadeždin in his magazine "Teleskop" <sup>1</sup>. In order to be able to produce a local colour Gogol' collected all the details of the traditions, customs, and costumes of the Ukrainians. In spring 1829, probably having in mind his future stories, Gogol' wrote to his mother, asking her to supply him with the necessary information <sup>2</sup>. Like Scott's characters the persons portrayed by Gogol' use a vernacular. Any difficult words are, as in Scott's works, explained in a special glossary. Gogol' makes use also of Scott's method of placing an epigraph at the beginning of some of his stories. These epigraphs are usually in Ukrainian in order to emphasize the local colour. Many stories have a subtitle - "a True Story told by So and So" - another feature common to Scott, who liked to ascribe invented sources to his works, thus basing his story on an "anecdote". Only in one of the stories is the historical background particularized - in the episode of the blacksmith's visit to the palace of Catherine II. This incident is described in the manner of Scott; even a writer is pictured in the crowd of courtiers (Fonvizin) <sup>3</sup>, a touch favoured by Scott. The Empress is portrayed

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1. Cf. N. Kotlyarevskii, Gogol' 1829-1842, SPB. 1911.

2. Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M. 1953, vol. VI, p. 257.

3. Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M. 1952, vol. I, p. 139.

in a simple "domestic" manner. There is a reference in one of the stories <sup>1</sup> reminiscent of the use of the manuscripts for inappropriate purposes frequent in Scott's novels <sup>2</sup>.

In most narratives, however, in their plots and descriptions, no traces of Sir Walter Scott can be found. Gogol's creative imagination, his grotesque sketches, his elaborate style, all are apparent in this early work of his.

About the same time as he was publishing his "Evenings" Gogol' began to write a historical novel. Only fragments of several chapters from it were written, and his reasons for not finishing his "G e t' m a n" (1830-1832) are unknown. Writing a historical novel at that time naturally led to Sir Walter Scott. The action in it is set against the background of the 17th century Ukraine (1645), and the love affair is closely connected with historical events. One of the chapters <sup>3</sup> is particularly reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott. The description of a traveller, on his way to meet an important person, encountering a stranger, and starting a conversation with him, is a theme common to many of Scott's novels. The stranger invites the traveller to stay overnight (the description of his hut is also typical of the detailed descriptions of houses in Scott's works);

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1. Gogol', Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M.1952, vol.I , p.187.

2. See above p.150.

3. Gogol'. Sobraniye sočineniĭ, M.1952, vol.I , pp.309-320 : "A chapter from a historical novel".

towards the end of the conversation the host discloses that he himself is the important person sought by the traveller - a situation common to many of Scott's works.

The wish to make his offering on the altar of the historical novel, with a plot taken from Ukrainian life, occupied Gogol' from 1830 onwards, when some parts of his "Get'man" were written. This wish was fulfilled in "T a r a s B u l' b a" (written in 1833, first published in 1835, largely modified in the edition of 1842). It was the beginning of this work which was praised by Puškin as being worthy of Scott.

"Taras Bul'ba", as it appeared in the revised edition, is a historical novel written in the style of Sir Walter Scott. It is one of the best incarnations of this style in Russia, and has many deviations from the then fashionable line. Prof. Kotlyarevskii thought that Gogol' did not use any new methods in this work but perfected the manner of the Russian historical novelists adapted from Sir Walter Scott <sup>1</sup>. The shortcomings of these imitations were indeed avoided by the talent of Gogol'. In contrast to the minor Russian authors, Gogol', like Puškin, assimilated the idea of Scott's writings, and not so much his outward manners. His intention was to show the historical past in all its complexity, in all its contradictions. As a matter of fact one finds all the elements of the historical novel in Scott's manner, as it was understood by the

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1. N. Kotlyarevskii, Gogol' 1829-1842, SPB 1911, p.232.

Russians, in "Taras Bul'ba" : a presentation of the spirit and way of life of the people, and a love affair set against a historical background. This background, however, is rather vague in "Taras Bul'ba", nor is any historical person presented in it, as is usually done in Scott's works. Gogol' obviously was mainly interested in the presentation of the spiritual past of the Ukraine, by portraying the characters and their way of life. He succeeded wonderfully in portraying the Cossacks, their spirit, their traditions, and their habits. The main hero, like those of Scott, is an ordinary man. The plot is set against the background of a struggle between the Ukrainians and the Poles in the 17th century. This choice is also typical since Scott's plots were usually taken from times of internal troubles. The love affair is even less important than in Scott's novels.

Belinskiĭ called "Taras Bul'ba" an "epic" and in this literary form it is also possible to see the impact of Sir Walter Scott. The "epic quietness" of narration is typical of both Scott and Gogol'.

The plot of "Taras Bul'ba" is simple, unlike the involved plots of Scott's novels. There are, however, several episodes in the plot where Gogol' followed the traditions of the historical novel. A Jew whose life was saved by Taras, and who though hated by his rescuer, responds to an appeal from him for help, was a character common in historical novels since the appearance of "Ivanhoe". An execution takes place, a battle is pictured, as is usual in Scott's novels.

It is interesting to note that in one respect Gogol' radically changed the traditional approach of the Russian historical novelists, and not only developed but even deepened the idea of Scott, who was misunderstood by minor Russian authors. While in Scott's novels the personal life of the hero is closely connected with historical events, in the works of his Russian imitators there were indeed two parallel, almost independent, plots : the personal and the historical, which only seldom crossed and influenced each other. Gogol', however, goes even further than Scott in this respect. Not only is Taras's life closely connected with historical events but he has, in fact, no other life at all <sup>1</sup>. Taras, an ordinary non-historical person, is in fact a synthesis of all the Cossacks and a typical representative of their spirit.

With "Taras Bul'ba" the observable impact of Sir Walter Scott on N.V.Gogol' ends, but not Gogol's interest in the Scottish novelist. It is known that when working at his masterpiece "M e r t v y y e d u š i" ("Dead Souls") Gogol' decided to re-read Scott. Since it was no longer an interest in history, or Scott's plots, that attracted Gogol' at that time, it was probably Scott's ability "to embrace life so fully", to convert the "romantic" into the "classical", the distinctness of his work. If Sir Walter Scott was able, in the opinion of Gogol', "to embrace life so fully", Gogol' wanted "to show in this novel the

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1. In the sublimation of Bul'ba's personal life to the high social ideals S.Mašinskiĭ sees the pathos of this historical novel.

Cf. S.Mašinskiĭ, Istoricheskaya povest' Gogolya, 1940, p.130.

whole of Russia, if only from one side" <sup>1</sup>. He stressed the same wish in his introduction to the second edition of "Dead Souls": "I cannot publish the last volumes of my work until I get somewhat more knowledge about Russian life from all sides" <sup>2</sup>.

Summing up one can say that Scott's impact on Gogol' was certainly less complex and manysided than in the case of Puškin or even of Lermontov, but it has nevertheless left quite important traces in his works : Gogol' learned a lot from Scott's methods and applied them in his own works. Besides, he assimilated some features of Scott's plots.

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1. Gogol', *Sobraniye sočineniĭ*, M.1953, vol.V, p.437 :letter to Puškin of 7th October 1835.

2. Gogol', *ibid.*, p.400.



5. The "Crowd" of Sir Walter  
Scott's Russian Imitators.

"Walter Scott has carried away a whole crowd of imitators", wrote Puškin in 1830<sup>1</sup>, "but how far they all are from the Scottish Magician ...". Though Puškin was referring to Western European literature, Russia was no exception to the general fashion. In the same year the "Literary Gazette"<sup>2</sup> told a story about a writer who when beginning a novel, promised his friends that he would strangle himself if he did not succeed in writing a better novel than Sir Walter Scott. The author of this article added ironically that nevertheless he had no knowledge of a suicide committed by any contemporary Russian author, though no works appeared which could be even compared with the literary value of the Scottish Bard's works.

The scope of this work does not permit space for a detailed study of the works written by this crowd of Russian "Val'terskottiki", as Scott's imitators were often called in Russia. Therefore only some of the better known works will be briefly mentioned here.

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1. Puškin, vol. VII, p.102.

2. "Literaturnaya Gazeta", 1838, vol. II, Nr.42, pp.47-48.

One of the first authors to pay attention to Scott's novels was Prince A. A. Š a h o v s k o ĭ (1777-1846) <sup>1</sup> who in the early twenties started to adapt Scott's works for the stage. His play adapted from Scott's "Ivanhoe" was written in 1822. These plays had a great success and contributed much to the further popularity of Scott's works in Russia. No wonder that this popularity resulted not only in a passive delight felt by the Russian readers but also in an active attempt by Russian authors to create a historical novel, the plot and the characters of which would be taken from Russian history and in which the customs and costumes, as well as the way of life, would be presented ; in other words, an attempt to write a novel in the manner of Scott, as understood at that time. Bestužev-Marlinskiĭ, Zagoskin, Lažečnikov, Polevoi are the best known of Scott's imitators of that period. Their ambition was to become the author of a Russian "Waverley". Unlike their prototype, however, most of them made a common mistake, which was summed up by Belinskiĭ thus <sup>2</sup>: while running after facts and all sorts of historical details, they forgot the idea, the spirit of a people's life ; like monkeys, they were parodying Scott without understanding the real essence of his works. The plots of these novels were mostly taken from the Muscovy period of Russian history, or from the 18th century ; the historical facts were mostly supplied

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1. An article on him appeared recently in one of the magazines, cf.:

B. Malnick, "A.A. Shakhovskoy", in : " The Slavonic and East European Review", vol. XXXII, No. 78, December 1953, pp. 29 ff.

2. Belinskiĭ, vol. I , p. 570.

by all sorts of me<sup>m</sup>oirs and Karamzin's "History of the Russian state". F.I.Bulgakov<sup>1</sup> speaking about this type of historical novel came to the conclusion that in all these novels the plots were connected with the fall and destruction of a castle, a siege accompanied by much noise of battle, and lovers who belonged to the opposed parties. Together with some historical characters, a gipsy, a wizard, and a Jew were automatically included.

The whole movement began with A.A.B e s t u ž e v - M a r l i n s k i i (1797-1837), whose short historical novels were written in the twenties, which in the thirties were followed by a great number of his full-length historical novels. "Roman i Ol'ga", "Ammalat-Bek", "Fregat Nadežda", "Revel'skiĭ turnir", "Zamok Eizen", "Zamok Venden" and many others enjoyed a great popularity. Written in a pretentious style, his works are a mixture of Scott, Byron and V.Hugo, and could appeal only to a very unsophisticated reader.

The first author to apply in a historical novel the type of local colour used by Scott was M. N. Z a g o s k i n (1789-1852). His historical novel "Yuriĭ Miloslavskiĭ, ili russkiye v 1612 godu" (1829) was written in a most patriotic mood and both satisfied and sti<sup>m</sup>ulated the readers' consciousness of national originality ("narodnost'"). It was just the right kind of work to breed this sensation, and produced a real storm of enthusiasm. Puškin regarded "Yuriĭ Miloslavskiĭ" as fully deserving its brilliant success and praised the presentations

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1. F.I.Bulgakov, "Istoričeskiĭ roman na zapade", in : " Istoričeskiĭ vestnik", 1884, vol. XVII, — quoted from I.I.Zamotin, "Romantizm 20yh godov ...", etc., vol. II , p.351.

of the nation's spirit and way of life in it, though he criticized the way Zagoskin portrayed the historical persons, and found some anachronisms in his work <sup>1</sup>. The Russian magazines were full of panegyrics of the "Russian Walter Scott" and his work. The news of acclamation reached even this country, and we read in the Foreign Quarterly Review of 1833 <sup>2</sup>: " We are by no means surprised at the popularity this production has obtained in Russia, for there it may be considered as a first rate performance ; elsewhere, a somewhat lower rank would be assigned to it, - in this country at least, if not in Germany, for some of the critics there have spoken of it in more laudatory terms than many of those in Russia itself. One of them indeed has even gone so far as to assert that it possesses all the excellences of Sir Walter Scott, without his defects, an eulogium to which, however gratified we have been with it, we cannot possibly subscribe". The literary value of Zagoskin's work which seemed so great to the Russian readers in the thirties was, in fact, of a very ephemeral character, and the work which was then read with interest by Puškin himself, can only be admired by children nowadays. Nevertheless, "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" had an important literary historical significance. In Belinskii's opinion, it started a new epoch in Russian literature, being followed on the one hand by Puškin's historical novel, and Lažečnikov's writings - works of a real literary

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1. Puškin , vol. VII , p.103.

2. "Foreign Quarterly Review", 1833, vol.XI, No.XXII, p.401.

value, but on the other - by a whole slough of inferior works based on a false understanding of national originality.<sup>1</sup>

It has never been a secret to Russian readers that "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" was written under the influence of Sir Walter Scott, and this fact only added to its popularity. I.I. Zamotin in his study of Russian romanticism in the twenties<sup>2</sup>, succeeded in proving that not only did the idea of writing this Russian historical novel originate from Scott, not only were Scott's methods used in it, but also that its plot was in its general lines taken from "A Legend of Montrose". In comparing the text of "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" with the Russian translation (1824) of this novel Zamotin found striking parallels in the development of the plot. Besides, there is a similarity in the choice of period : both novels describe events taking place at the beginning of the 17th century. While a civil war is described in Scott's work, the action in "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" takes place at the times of the internal troubles in Russia. Two travellers - Yuriĭ and his servant - meet a stranger, who joins them and becomes Yuriĭ's bodyguard ; - like Captain Dalgetty who met Lord Monteith and remained with him. As in Scott's novel, the travellers visit an estate where some important papers are handed over and the political situation discussed ; a feast takes place, during which a beautiful woman appears. Various other facts important for the development of the

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1. Belinskiĭ, vol. II , p.307.

2. I.I. Zamotin , Romantizm 20ykh godov ...., vol. II , pp.345-351.

plot are also adapted from "A Legend of Montrose". Yuriĭ's bodyguard Kirša, like Captain Dalgetty, falls into the hands of the enemy but succeeds in freeing himself and leaving as a prisoner in his place the head of the enemy group. Yuriĭ gets married, and his wedding takes place in circumstances similar to that of Lord Monteith's marriage. The novels end in a similar way : the times of trouble are over and a peaceful life begins for the happily married hero and his helpmate.

Supplementary to these parallels in the plot, it should be noted that the subtitle of this work "The Russians in 1612" is reminiscent of the subtitle of "Waverley" - "'Tis 60 years since"<sup>1</sup>, the character of the fool Mitya was probably created under the influence of Davie from "Waverley", and that at the end of the novel a glossary with historical notes was given. Zagoskin also tried to make use of local colour. Like Scott, he introduced songs into his narrative, used the local dialect, and described carefully the costumes worn by the Russians in the early 17th century. Zagoskin, however, lacked the talent of Sir Walter Scott. In contrast to Scott's impartiality, Zagoskin not only idealized the Russian historical past but presented it in a cloying way. Neither was he able to free himself of a tendency to moralise ; his characters do not appear as "live" ones, but rather as those portrayed in cheap popular prints. Nor was he able to present in his work the true spirit of the past, and his use of local colour was very superficial.

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1. Pointed out by Dennis Ward, Esq., to whom I express my gratitude.

These are the reasons why his work, though still read by children, is dead and forgotten for adults. It was, however, important in Russian literature as the first serious attempt to create a Russian historical novel on the lines of Sir Walter Scott.

If "Yuriĭ Miloslavskii" can still be recognized as a more or less successful attempt, the novels written by Zagoskin afterwards are not worthy of criticism. One of them, "Roslavlev, ili russkiye v 1812 godu", should, however, be mentioned, since it indirectly incited Puškin to write a historical novel under the same title, a novel which was left by him in a fragmentary state. This novel was intended to be a reply to Zagoskin's "Roslavlev".

F.V. Bulgarin (1789-1859) wrote in 1830 a historical novel under the title "Dmitriĭ Samozvanec". The best indication of the worth of this work is probably the story told about Puškin, who refused to write a review of it, saying that it was impossible to do it without having read the novel, <sup>and</sup> but that he doubted whether he had the strength to read it.

The editor of "Moskovskii Telegraf" N.A. Polevoi (1796-1846) who was a great admirer of Scott, published in his magazine a great number of translations from Scott's novels, and himself wrote novels in the style of Sir Walter Scott too. His best work was the novel "Bitva pri grobe Gospodnem" (1832). The influence of Scott on this novel was, however, only an indirect one - through the intermediary of De Vigny<sup>1</sup>.

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1. N.K.Kozmin, "Očerki iz istorii russkogo romantizma", etc, pp.81 ff.



Probably the best writer among Scott's Russian imitators of that period was I. I. L a ž e č n i k o v (1792-1869). In his best novels "Ledyanoĭ dom" and "Basurman", he applied Scott's methods more skilfully and succeeded in picturing the spirit of the past and the way of life of the people with more understanding. His characters are more alive than those of Zagoskin, though he also writes in a strongly nationalistic spirit. Like Scott, he presents his historical persons in a simple, unpretentious, domestic way. He makes use also of another of Scott's methods, and places epigraphs at the beginning of every chapter. Whatever the merits of his works are, one cannot, however, place them on the same level as Puškin's "Kapitanskaya dočka", as was done by Belinskiĭ.<sup>1</sup>

None of the "crowd" of Scott's imitators succeeded in creating a real Russian historical epic, an immortal historical novel. Copying Sir Walter Scott, without truly understanding the essence of his talent, they imitated mostly his outward habits instead of learning from his methods, and assimilating them, as was done by Puškin, Lermontov and Gogol'.

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1. See above pp. 243-244.

VII.

OTHER SCOTTISH AUTHORS AND  
"THE EDINBURGH REVIEW"  
IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE.

No other Scottish author can claim to have played such an important role in the history of Russian literature as did Sir Walter Scott. All other contacts remain no more than scattered episodes of greater or lesser importance.

The poetry of R O B E R T B U R N S (1759-1796) was far from enjoying the popularity it does nowadays in Russia, when good translations of his poems continue to appear <sup>1</sup>. The interest in Burns's poetry began to gain ground only with the development of the revolutionary movement in the middle of the 19th century. No more than points of scattered contacts with Burns can be seen in Russian literature in the first half of the 19th century, probably because of the difficulty of understanding the Scots vernacular.

Some paraphrases of his poems were made by I. K o z l o v (1779-1840) whose "Village Saturday Evening in Scotland" is a "free imitation" of the "Cottar's Saturday Night". Kozlov places an epigraph from Gray at the beginning of his poem, and, instead of the short introduction in Burns, Kozlov opens his poem with a long sentimental passage and a reference to his own misfortune - his blindness. Then, a more or less exact translation follows. There are, however, some details in which Kozlov, consciously or not, does not follow Burns. He makes his Dženni work as a seamstress, while Burns only speaks about Jenny's "sar-won penny-fee". One of the other differences is probably due to Kozlov's

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1. Excellent translations of Robert Burns's poems were made by S. Maršák. *have been*

misunderstanding of the Scottish word "parritch", which he probably thought to be "partridge". Thus, the family which in the poem of Burns is poor and eats "halesome parritch, chief of Scotia's food" - only in the honour of a visitor "kebbuch" is placed on the table - seems to be quite prosperous in Kozlov's version, since its food consists of "game" and curd. The stanza about the prayer is different in the Russian version, and the part of Burns's poem beginning with : "Compare with this, how poor Religion's pride ... ", as well as the stanza : "From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs ..." are completely omitted. The Russian poem ends with Kozlov's appeal to his native land.

Belinskiĭ, reviewing Kozlov's poem, wrote<sup>1</sup>: "'Sel'skiĭ subbotniĭ večer v Šotlandii' is not a translation from Burns<sup>2</sup>, but a free imitation of that poet. It is a pity, since Kozlov could have excellently translated this excellent piece, but as an imitation - it is something strange. We do not understand why the translator suddenly appeals to Russia after the excellent appeal of the Scottish author to his native country. His appeal may be full of patriotic heat, but is it appropriate ? - that is the question. And Scottish life as presented by Burns in his excellent idyll, is as much like the life of our peasants ... as the muse Calliope is to Heraskov".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Belinskiĭ , vol. II , p.887.

2. R.Burns's name was often spelt thus in Russia of that period.

3. Mihail Heraskov (1733-1807), a Russian poet, known for his national epics "Rossiada" and "Vladimir".

Another paraphrase of Burns's poem is Kozlov's "To the field daisy which Robert Burns accidentally cut with the blade of his plough in April 1786". Though Kozlov tries to write his version in the same metre as Burns, it can only be considered a free paraphrase of "To a Mountain Daisy, on turning one down with the plough in April 1786"<sup>1</sup>. Kozlov succeeds, however, in rendering the touching sincerity of feeling, the melody, and the grace of the original. There are, however, places where Kozlov rather mars his own version: while one can pass over the substitution of a butterfly for a lark, it is difficult to agree with the name of Mal'vina given to the "artless maid" of Burns, or the total omission of the lines beginning: "Such fate to suffering worth is giv'n ...", as well as the address to himself instead of an appeal in the second person at the end of the poem.

Whatever the defects of Kozlov's translations, he did a great service to Russian readers in introducing them to the poetry of a national Scottish poet, who at best was previously known to them by name only. The translations of these two poems were done by Kozlov in about 1828, and appeared as a separate booklet in 1829. Reviewing them, the literary magazine "Severnyye Cvety" commented that Kozlov preferred to translate or imitate those works of foreign poets which provided response to his own feelings, - and "if he does not render them word for word, then at least he does it in such a way as to evoke in the soul of the reader the same impressions which were born in it when reading the original"<sup>2</sup>.

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1. R. Burns, Complete Works (ed. A. Smith), London 1924, p. 69.

2. "Severnyye cvety na 1830 god", SPB 1829, p. 67.

Though there was a copy of R. Burns's poems in P u š k i n' s library, it remained partly uncut <sup>1</sup>. Nor does Puškin mention Burns in any of his letters or articles. Therefore it is difficult to imagine that he was particularly interested in Burns's poetry, as was believed by Družinin <sup>2</sup>. It is, however, claimed by Smirnova that Puškin once discussed Burns's poetry with her. Speaking about Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) and Burns, Puškin is supposed to have said that he had borrowed their works and a Scottish dictionary from a friend, and that he found them very original. Burns, he added, had also a gift for epics. His was a "real earthy ("počvennaya") and historical poetry" <sup>3</sup>.

Družinin <sup>4</sup> found a similarity in the metre between many of Burns's poems and Puškin's "Obval" <sup>5</sup>. It is true that the metre used in "Obval" is frequently used by Burns. May-be it was indeed from him that Puškin took it over; it is, however, more likely, as thought by Yakovlev <sup>6</sup>, that this metre was inspired by "The Sea Shore Echo" by Barry Cornwall. The close connection of this poem with Puškin's "Eho", which, by the way, is also written in

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1. B.L.Modzalevskii, "Biblioteka Puškina", etc., p.180.
  2. A.S.Družinin, "Aleksandr Sergeyevič Puškin i posledniye izdaniya ego sočineniĭ", in : " Biblioteka dlya čteniya", vol.130, SPB 1855, No.3/4, p.74 ; quoted from N.Yakovlev, "Posledniĭ literaturnyĭ sobesednik Puškina", in : " Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol.28 , P.1917 , p.26.
  3. A.O.Smirnova, op. cit., p.159.
  4. A.S.Družinin, ibid.,
  5. Puškin , vol. III , p.136.
  6. N.Yakovlev, ibid.

the same metre, is regarded as proven by modern critics.

There exists a translation of Burns's quatrain "Had we never loved so kindly"<sup>1</sup> made by L e r m o n t o v<sup>2</sup>. Since this verse was used by Byron as an epigraph to the "Bride of Abydos", it is more likely that it was through this channel that Lermontov made his acquaintance with it. The verse is a part of "Farewell to Nancy" which Sir Walter Scott called "the essence of a thousand love tales". A curious mistake is made by Lermontov in this otherwise accurate translation : confusing the English "kindly" with the German "kindlich" he translated the first line as : "Were we not children ..." <sup>3</sup>.

The Russian poet A.V. K o l' c o v (1808-1842) has been often called "the Russian Burns". There is, in fact, a similarity in their themes, their sincerity, their straightforwardness. It is, however, more than doubtful whether Kol'cov knew more of Burns's poetry, than the existing Russian translations of his poems, since he was not versed in languages.

A very interesting question is whether T. G. S M O L L E T T (1721-1771) made an impact on Russian literature, a problem which to my knowledge has hardly ever been raised seriously in critical literature.

The only connection of Smollett with Russian authors that has

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1. R. Burns, p.214.

2. Lermontov, vol. I , p.346 : "Had we never loved so kindly" (1832).

3. "Yesli b my ne deti byli ... ".



attracted the attention of Russian scholars is that with V.T.Narežnyi (1780-1825), a forerunner of Gogol'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, both Narežnyi's "Rossiiskii Žil'blaz" and Smollett's "Roderick Random" are modelled on the pattern of Le Sage's "Gil Blas" and therefore it is rather difficult to ascertain how much of Smollett there is in the Russian work.

The best known of Smollett's works were translated into Russian in the 18th century : " The Adventures of Roderick Random" and "Peregrine Pickle" in 1788, " Humphrey Clinker" in 1789.

Though Smollett's works in the original were in Puškin's library<sup>2</sup> there seems to be hardly any contact between the two authors, nor is there a single word about Smollett in Puškin's articles or letters.

The case of N.V.G o g o l' is very different. Gogol' wrote in one of his drafts to Chapter XI of the first volume of "Dead Souls" : "He (the author) does not have the habit of looking round while he writes : if he ever raises his eyes it is only to the portraits hanging in front of him on the wall, those of Shakespeare, Ariosto, Fielding, Cervantes and Puškin ..." <sup>3</sup>. In or shortly after 1848 , Gogol' for some reason or other compiled a list of authors and

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1. V.V.Gippius, V.A.Desnickii and B.S.Meilah (ed.), Istoriya russkoï literatury, vol. 5 , M.-L.1941, p.288.
  2. "Roderick Random", "Peregrine Pickle", "Humphrey Clinker", "Count Fathom", "Sir Lancelot Greaves" and Smollett's translation of Don Quixote ; cf. B.L.Modzalevskii, op. cit., p.146, No.567.
  3. There are several variations of this sentence in Gogol's drafts. Cf. Gogol', Sočineniya (10th ed.), vol. VII, SPB 1896, pp. 569, 464, 140 and 352, and comments to the text p.732.

books in which Fielding's name is again mentioned <sup>1</sup>. The name of Fielding is important since, as in France, some of Smollett's works were ascribed to Fielding in Russian translations <sup>2</sup>. It appears therefore that the reference to Fielding by Gogol' could in fact have been a reference to Smollett as well <sup>3</sup>, especially since Gogol' did not know English and would have read Smollett in the French or Russian translations.

There is indeed an astonishing kinship in character between the humour in Smollett's works and that of Gogol's works. One finds in both the exaggerated caricatures and grotesque figures, and the presentation of oddities of manner, speech, and appearance ; both authors depict a world of ill-nature and vice, stress the diversities and anomalies of mankind, and both evoke laughter over these anomalies, "the savage laughter of the satirist rather than the genial laughter of true comedy" <sup>4</sup>. Their caricatures are physiological, both resort to metaphors and to comparisons with animals, to a neat emphasis of natural features, thus achieving grotesqueness in their sketches. From the following quotation

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1. V.V.Gippius, N.V.Gogol', Materialy i issledovaniya, M.1936, vol.I , p.12.
  2. Cf. "Pohoždeniya Rodrika Randoma, sočinennyye gospodinom Fieldingom, perevedeny s Aglinskogo na Francuzskoï, a nyne s onago na Rossiïskii", M.1788 ; also : "Putešestviye Gumfriya Klingera", SPB.1789.
  3. To my knowledge this possibility has not been perceived by any scholar.
  4. E.A.Baker, The History of the English Novel, London 1935, vol.IV , p.206.

from the Russian translation of "Roderick Random", which was accessible to Gogol', one can see how near Smollett's manner is to the descriptions familiar to us in Gogol's works.

"He (the captain) led by his hand a small animal which he called his wife, though anyone but himself would rather suppose her to be a cat, since she had a dry hollow face and small, grey, round eyes ..."<sup>1</sup>.

Another quotation from "Roderick Random" in the same translation sounds as if taken from Gogol's "Večera na hutore ..." where similar fantastic episodes constitute most of the plots of the stories. "It seemed to her that she gave birth to a ball and that the devil who attended her in the functions of a midwife threw it with a spade so high into the air that it disappeared from view ...".

It may be that Gogol' learnt something of his technique from Smollett's works, or perhaps this kinship is a mere coincidence. However, in the light of Gogol's admiration for Fielding, under whose name he might also have meant Smollett, and in the light of the existence of Russian translations of Smollett's works,

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1. "Pohoždeniya Roderika Randoma", M.1788, p.186. Cf. N.V.Gogol', *Sobraniye sočineniĭ*, M.1953, vol. V ("Mertvyĭe duši"), where a similar manner in portraying the character is very frequent: p.97 (the description of Sobakevič), p.120 (the eyes of Plyuškin were like little mice), p.240 ("... s licom ... pohožim na to, kak budto by na nem proishodila molot'ba gorohu ...", a face which looked as though it was used for threshing peas on), pp.249-250 ("... buduščii rodonačal'nik kak ostorožnyi kot ...", the future founder of a line as a careful cat).

one is tempted to suspect that Gogol' acquired some features of his humorous descriptions from the Scottish master of the grotesque.

TH. C A M P B E L L (1777-1844) was represented in Russian literature of that period by an adaptation by V. Ž u k o v s k i ĭ. "Ullin and his Daughter" is included in some works of Žukovskii with no mention of the fact that it was adapted from Th.Campbell <sup>1</sup>. This poem was written by Žukovskii in 1833 and is a free translation of "Lord Ullin's Daughter". Žukovskii shortened the original, changed the expressions, but succeeded in rendering the general impression of the tragic story. It proceeds at a quicker tempo than does the original. Žukovskii omits some details. On the other hand, Lord Ullin's daughter is given no name in Campbell's poem, nor is her lover. Žukovskii gives them Ossianic names : Rino and Mal'vina. Campbell's heroine seems to be more frightened of her father, being ready to meet "the raging of the skies, but not an angry father". Mal'vina, however, is silent and one does not even know whether her flight was voluntary or whether she was taken by force.

Last, but not least, an adaptation of the Scottish ballad, "H a m e c a m e o u r g o o d m a n ..." by P u š k i n should be mentioned. It was included by him as one of Franc's songs <sup>2</sup>

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1. Žukovskii, vol. III , pp.100-101.

2. On the other song and its origin see above pp. 100-101.

in his "Sceny iz rycarskih vremen". The Scottish origin of this song was pointed out in "Otečestvennyye Zapiski" of 1859 and in "Russkoye Slovo" of 1860<sup>1</sup>. It is, however, still uncertain how Puškin got to know this ballad, nor does it seem to be clear to Russian scholars that it is not a literary but a popular humorous ballad<sup>2</sup>.

Whatever the source from which Puškin made acquaintance with this verse, it is clear that it was the Scottish version that was adapted by him, since the variations known in France and Flemish Belgium are different<sup>3</sup>. It was only the second stanza of the Scottish version that became Franc's song in "Sceny iz rycarskih vremen". The miller (the "goodman" in the Scottish original), coming home at night sees a pair of jack-boots and asks his wife what boots these are. She responds contemptuously that it is a pair of buckets, reproaching him that he is drunk. The miller does not believe her, and says that neither in a dream nor in reality has he ever seen copper spurs on pails.

The second stanza of the Scottish original reads as follows

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1. "Otečestvennyye Zapiski", 1859, No.5 ; "Russkoye Slovo", 1860, No.3 ; quoted from V.Karrik, "O proishozhdenii odnogo stihotvoreniya Puškina", in : "Puškin i ego sovremenniki", vol. 36, P.1923.
  2. V.Karrik, *ibid.*, asks whether the words of this ballad are not written by Burns.
  3. Cf. F.J.Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol. V , pp. 88-95, No.274.

(in Child's version) :

"Hame came our goodman,  
And hame came he,  
He spy'd a pair of jack-boots  
Where nae boots should be.  
'What's this now, goodwife?  
What's this I see?  
How came these boots here,  
Whithout the leave o me?'  
'Boots?' quo she.  
'Ay, boots', quo he.  
'Shame fa your cuckold face,  
And ill mat ye see!  
It's but a pair of water-stoups,  
My minnie sent to me'.  
'Water-stoups?' quo he.  
'Ay, water-stoups', quo she.  
'Far hae I ridden,  
And farer hae I gane,  
But siller spurs on water-stoups  
I saw never nane'.

As one would expect of Puškin, his version is more concentrated and half as short as the original, while fully reproducing the humorous spirit of the latter.

As have been said, it is not clear where Puškin found the Scottish original. There was in his library a copy (uncut) of J.Gilchrist's "Scottish Songs Ancient and Modern" <sup>1</sup>, but "Hame

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1. Mentioned under No.943 in Modzalevskii's description of Puškin's library. Cf. B.L.Modzalevskii, op. cit., p.239.

"Come our Goodman" was not in the first edition. A different part of this song was used by Sir Walter Scott as an epigraph to Chapter XXIII of "Rob Roy". Karrik<sup>1</sup> suggests that Puškin may have heard it from some of his Scottish friends. There is also another possibility : "Hame Come our Goodman" was published for the first time in Herd's "Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs"<sup>2</sup>, and though this book is not among those listed by Modzalevskii in Puškin's library, it need not have been unknown to Puškin.

In closing the survey of the impact made by Scottish authors on Russian literature in the first half of the 19th century some mention should be made of a Scottish literary and critical magazine "The Edinburgh Review", edited by Francis Jeffrey from 1802, which was regarded by many Russians as the ideal of a literary magazine. "Of all the literary journals that deserve honour and respect the first place should be given to the 'Edinburgh Review'", wrote one of the leading Russian magazines in the late twenties<sup>3</sup>. Especially impressive was the "learned critical tribunal" of "The Edinburgh Review", the author of this article thought. The Review, he said, contained long criticisms and various articles about politics, political economy etc.. There were not many books reviewed in it but the variety of the choice and the methods used by the critics made the journal quite outstanding. The critics, he said, always

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1. V.Karrik, op. cit., p.57.

2. D.Herd, Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, 1776, vol. II, p.172.

3. "Moskovskii Telegraf", 1827, No.17, p.55; 1828, No.7, pp.374-381. Quoted from : N.K.Kozmin, op.cit.



stressed only the important elements without paying any attention to details.

It is most probable that the author of this article was the editor of the "Moscow Telegraph", N.A. P o l e v o ĭ, who, as he himself confessed, made his acquaintance with "The Edinburgh Review" and other journals written in English through the "Revue Britannique"<sup>1</sup>. He made no secret of the fact that it was from "The Edinburgh Review" that he got the idea of summarising the contents at the beginning of each article, a practice which he introduced into his journal in 1828<sup>2</sup>. In the same article he stressed the importance of the British magazines and made an appeal for more translations from them. Like many Russians he seemed to be much attracted by "The Edinburgh Review", and, in addition to many translations from it, he gave in his magazine accounts of its contents and advised which articles deserved to be translated.

Many translations from the "Revue Britannique", "The Edinburgh Review", and "Blackwood's Magazine" were published also in "Literaturnaya Gazeta", a journal edited by A.A. D e l' v i g, one of Puškin's friends. One of its numbers called "The Edinburgh Review" the "Edinburgh Oracle of Poets"<sup>3</sup>.

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1. "Moskovskii Telegraf", 1829, No.17, p.89 : " ... until the Revue Britannique began to acquaint us with English Reviews we did not know the famous English journals ...".
  2. N.K.Kozmin, op. cit., p. 14.
  3. "Literaturnaya Gazeta", 1830, No.50, p.114.

Puškin had a very high opinion of the standard of "The Edinburgh Review" ; he felt the need for a similar journal in Russia <sup>1</sup> and made plans for publishing a magazine of that sort <sup>2</sup>. He was well acquainted with this journal in the original since there was a set of extracts from "The Edinburgh Review" in his library <sup>3</sup> that, among others, contained such articles as would probably have interested him such as : "A Comparison between English and French Poetry", "The Poetry of Russia", "Characters of distinguished Poets (Burns, Scott, Campbell ... )", "Characters of eminent ... Novelists"(among others Fielding, Smollett), an article on "Tales of my Landlord", an article on the Comparative State of Literature in England and France.

Through "The Edinburgh Review" and the translations from it published in Russian literary magazines Russian readers not only made the acquaintance of many Scottish and other foreign authors but also learned a lot from its critical approach to literary works. The name of "The Edinburgh Review" was quite familiar to Russians of that period and is often referred to not only in published articles but also in private correspondence.

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1. Puškin , vol. X , p.125.

2. Puškin , vol. X , pp.200 and 557.

3. "Collection of Ancient and Modern British Authors, Selections from The Edinburgh Review, comprising the best articles in that journal from its commencement to the present time, with a preliminary dissertation and explanatory notes" (edited by M.Cross in six volumes, Baudry's European Library), Paris 1835.

Cf. B.I.Modzalevskii, "Biblioteka Puškina", etc., p.154.

VIII.

C O N C L U S I O N.

I have tried to indicate in this work the main tendencies introduced by Scottish authors into Russian literature. The impact of these Scots writers formed a considerable part of those factors which led Russian literature at first to pre-romanticism, and later to realism. James Thomson and Ossian-Macpherson brought with them new themes and forms, which seemed refreshing after the stiffness of pseudo-classicism. "Ossian" especially was hailed as a prophet of a new era in literature. His gloom, his nocturnal descriptions, his warrior spirit called forth numerous imitations. But Russia had soon satiated herself with the sensibility of "the poet of mists and seas", and new idols appeared on her literary horizon. However, one effect produced by Ossian, though in an indirect way, remained - the interest in Russia's own rich store of folk-lore. Sir Walter Scott added to this an interest in Russia's historical past. Scott's writings seem to have been not only an object of many, though seldom successful imitations, but also a source of inspiration for many assimilations on the part of outstanding Russian authors.

Not only was Sir Walter Scott manysided enough to provide Russian literature with material for assimilations of plots but he also gave Russian authors the possibility of learning from his methods, which was far more important. Serious Russian authors studied these methods carefully, selected those which seemed important for their own creative aims, and, in a modified form,

applied them in their own writings. These assimilations are as different in character as the works of these authors. However, some common traits can be observed. Especially important for the development of Russian literature was Scott's prose ; only in the case of Lermontov was his poetry of greater significance. Of his prose works, the realistic Scottish novels left more traces in Russian literature than the romantic mediaeval novels. This is not surprising , since, being satiated with fanciful whimsicality, Russian authors were searching for new, more objective and naturalistic methods of presentations. Indications, for those who were able to see, were to be found in Scott's "objectivity", a feature of his works widely admired in Russia. Thus, Sir Walter Scott, an author who himself belonged to the school of Romanticism, was able to give hints of the methods applied in the future realistic Russian literature. In this lies the main significance of Sir Walter Scott for Russian literature. In addition, he supplied Russia with countless sources of borrowings in the field of plots and situations. Even Puškin built up the central lines of his "Captain's Daughter" from situations borrowed from "Waverley". But it needed a Puškin to transform these situations so skilfully, to bind them together in such an ingenious way that there is indeed nothing in common in the general impression left by the reading of the "Captain's Daughter", and that left by reading of "Waverley".

Of comparatively smaller significance for Russia were Scott's characters as individuals. The method, however, of presenting insignificant heroes in historical novels was fully accepted by Russian authors. Lermontov seems to be the only outstanding Russian author who was particularly attracted by two of Scott's personages, neither of them characters from a historical novel. The strong personality of Lord Marmion appealed to the poet in his younger days ; he was also interested in the psychology of a person wronged by nature and by men, and from this point of view Elshie was of interest to him.

Scott's vogue was over in the forties of the 19th century, the borrowings from his plots and imitations of his works ceased, but his methods, which were applied in the works of the outstanding Russian authors, remained, and in a modified form were left as a legacy to future generations.

It is unlikely that any other Scottish author will ever be able to claim anything like such an importance for Russian literature, unless Robert Burns happens to produce a lasting effect in modern Soviet writings.

I hope I have been able to show in this work how important was the role played by Scottish authors in the development of Russian literature. Not only did the

Scots go to Russia to help in building up the Russian state and Russian science but they penetrated Russian literature, offering it methods which, as applied by Russian authors, speeded up its development, thus helping it to acquire its place among the great literatures of the world.



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	Tazit (1829-30)	The Tales of I. P. Belkin (1830)	The History of the Village Goryuhino (1830)	The Covetous Knight (1830)	Dubrovskii (1832-1833)	The Captain's Daughter (1836)	The Spaniards (1830)	Vadim (1832)	The Fugitive (1839)	A Hero of Our Time. (1840)	Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka (1831)	Taras Bul'ba (1833)
Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)  Waverley (1814) * 1818 ** 1827						Conflict between honour and duty with love, position which can be qualified as treason, arrest, trial, p.126-131. Grinev's up-bringing, farewell, p.133. Arrival at Belogorskaya, p.134. function of M.Iv's letter, p.136. /Ivan Kuz'mič(Baron Bradwardine)/, p.138.				Preface p.221.		
Guy Mannering (1815) * 1816 ** 1824					Scene of the death of old Dubrovskii p.166.							
Old Mortality (1816) * 1817 ** 1824			Pride of land-owner of Nena-radovo in his village, p.147. Belkin's attitude to his tales, p.150-151.			Contact with enemy, as result of injustice, p.129. Preparations for defence, p.134-135.		Episode of hiding in a cave p.217		Reference p.188 p.219	Rudyĭ Pan'ko (Jedediah). Theme and style of introduction. p.231-232.	
The Black Dwarf (1816) * 1817 ** 1824								Vadim as character p.213-216.				
Rob - Roy (1816) * 1818 ** 1829	Cursing of son p.100.				/Dubrovskii (Rob-Roy)/ p.168	Grinev's relations to Pugačev, p.129. Quarrel between Grinev and Svabrin, duel, p.139. Svabrin (Rashley) p.139-140. Pugačev (Rob-Roy) p.138.			Cursing of son p.207.			
The Heart of Midlothian (1818) * 1818 ** 1825						Meeting with Empress, pardon, p.131-132. Old Grinev (Davie Deans) p.140. /Mar'ya Ivanovna (Jeanie)/ p.140-141. Anna Vlas'yevna (Mrs.Glass) p.141.					Tone of Preface. Minor parallels. p.233.	
Ivanhoe (1819) * 1820 ** 1826						Wounded hero nursed by Mar'ya Ivanovna p.111.	Fernando and Moiseĭ, p.223-224. Christian nursed by Jewess, p.224. /Jewish melodies, p.224. Capturing of heroine, p.224.					Jew saved by Taras. p.237.
The Bride of Lammermoor (1819) * 1819 ** 1824		Situations in "Lady-Peasant" p.154-156. Reference in "Coffin-maker" p.156-157.			Background. Death of old Dubrovskii. Plan of vengeance, its conflict with love. Marriage against will. p.164-167.	Savel'yič (Caleb), p.137-138.						
The Monastery (1820) * 1820 ** 1829			Structure of introductory part. Composition of narrative, p.162.									
The Fortunes of Nigel (1822) * 1822 ** 1829						Reproaches of Savel'yič after gambling episode, p.133-134. Savel'yič (Ritchie) p.136.						
Peveril of the Peak (1822) * 1823 ** 1830										Heroine in "Taman'", (Fenella) p.220.		
Quentin Durward (1823) * 1823 ** 1826						Contrast between atmospheres before and after siege, p.135-136.						
St. Ronan's Well (1823) * 1824 ** 1828		/Additional stimulus for "Snow-Storm"/ p.158-159.										
Woodstock (1826) * 1826 ** 1829						Meeting of Grinev and Savel'yič with Pugačev, p.137.						
The Surgeon's Daughter (1827) * 1827 ** 1830						Title ; not real subject of novel p.117.	Jewish hero brought up by Christiana n, p.225					
The Fair Maid of Perth. (1828) * 1828 ** 1829	Tazit (Conochar) p.100.			Scene of Baron admiring his wealth, p.170-171. Solomon's suggestion to poison Baron, p.171.					Garun's flight, suicide, p.207-209.			

Notes : \* First French translation,  
\*\* First Russian translation,

/ / possible impact, ( ) similarity in character.



SIR WALTER SCOTT'S POETRY IN THE WORKS OF RUSSIAN AUTHORS.

Author, title and DATE OF WORKS concerned.	V. Ž U K O V S K I Ĭ (1783-1852).				A. S. P U Š K I N (1799-1837)				M.Y. L E R M O N T O V		( 1814 - 1841 )		
	(1815)	Castle Smal'gol'm (1822)	Penitence (1831)	The trial in the Vault (1831)	Boris Godunov (1825)	Poltava (1828)	Scottish Song (1828)	The Soughing Bush (1830)	Confession (1830)	Litvinka (1830)	Izmail - Beĭ (1832)	Boyarín Orša (1835-36)	Cossack Cradle Song (1840).
Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)  Marmion (1808) * 1820    ** 1828				Paraphrase of "The Convent" (Canto II) p.184-185.		Setting. Character of Mazepa p.102.			Assimilation of Canto II st. XXXIII. p.204. Character of hero, p.205.	Description of Arseniĭ p.206.	Epigraph to p. II ; idea, theme of treachery, p.199-202. Character of Izmail, p.202. Detail in plot, p.203.	Trial p.205.	
The Lady of the Lake (1810) * 1822    ** 1827	Synopsis				Scene with expiring steed, p.170			Episode with stag p.93-95.			Episode with stag, p.195. Meeting at watchfire, p.195-197. Reason for soldier's hate, p.198. Landscape digressions, p.198.		
The Eve of St. John (1800/1801)		Translation p.180-181.											
The Fire-King (1801)											Religious apostasy, p.203.		
The Gray Brother (1803)			Paraphrase p.181-183										
Lullaby of an Infant Chief (1816)													Theme, p.209-210.
Twa Corbies (1803)							Paraphrase p.95-98.						

Notes : \* Date of first French translation,  
\*\* Date of first Russian translation.



## SOME OF SIR WALTER SCOTT'S METHODS IN THE WORKS OF OUTSTANDING

## RUSSIAN AUTHORS.

Description of Method.	Applied by			A. S. P U Š K I N in:					Applied by M. Y. L E R M O N T O V in:				Applied by N.V.GOGOL' in:	
	The Captive of the Caucasus (1820-1821)	The Negro of Peter the Great (1827)	Poltava (1828)	Tales of Belkin (1830)	The History of the Village Goryuhino. (1830)	Dubrovskii (1832-33)	Mar'ya Sonin (1834)	The Captain's Daughter. (1836)	Vadim (1832)	Izmail-Beï (1832)	Cossack Cradle Song (1840)	A Hero of Our Time. (1840)	Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka (1831)	Taras Bul'ba (1833...)
Anecdote as basis of narra tive				p.150, 153.				pp.122-123, p.126.						
Judicial case as basis of narrative						p.164,168.	p.169.							
Framing. Literary mystification.	Introduction				p.160.			p.120.						
	Fictitious author				p.159.							p.221-222.	p.229-235.	
	Fictitious editor			p.144-151.				p.119.						
	Interm.pers.													
	Fict.manuscript				p.160-161.			p.119.						
Interweaving of hist. and private plots.		p.105.	p.102.					p.116						p.237-238.
"Domestic" approach to historical persons.		p.104-105.	p.102-103.					p.117-118.					p.234-235.	
Local colour.	p.99.	p.105.				p.168.		p.120.	p.211.	p.194.	p.210.	p.222-223.	p.230, 234.	p.237.
Dialogue.								p.118.	p.218.					
Impartiality in historical descriptions.								p.114-115, p.119.						p.236.
Interludes in narrative (songs, landscape digressions)			p.102.					p.121.	p.218.	p.198, p.203.				
Epigraphs.		p.105.						p.121.		p.199			p.234	
Average person as hero								p.116.						p.237.
Title belies principal character, (cf. The Surgeon's Daughter).								p.117.						